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SOCIAL ENGLAND

ILLUSTRATED EDITION—VOL. III. SECTION II.

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

AUDLEY END.



SOCIAL ENGLAND

A Record of the Progress of the People in
Religion, Laws, Learning, Arts, Industry, Com-
merce, Science, Literature and Manners, from
the Earliest Times down to King Edward VII

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AUDLEY END, NEAR SAFFRON WALDEN, ESSEX	<i>Frontispiece</i>
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The house was begun by Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk (who had distinguished himself in the defeat of the Spanish Armada and in other naval operations against Spain), in 1603, and finished in 1616. It may, however, fairly be regarded as Elizabethan in feeling and character. It was considered at least equal to the palaces of Hampton Court and Nonsuch. A model was brought from Italy, and the total cost was estimated at £200,000, an enormous sum at that period. The earl called it Audley End after his maternal grandfather, Lord Audley of Walden, who succeeded Sir Thomas More as Lord Keeper. The present house consists only of three sides of the smaller of the two quadrangles which constituted the original building, and of which the larger was approached by a superb entrance gateway with two round towers. Marble and alabaster columns are conspicuous features of the structure. It proved too expensive for its possessors to keep up, and was sold to Charles II., but restored by William III. to the family. It was again sold to the Countess of Portsmouth, who followed the example of previous

owners in pulling down part of it, and at her death, in 1762, bequeathed it to her nephew, who eventually became the first Lord Braybrooke (T. Wright, *History of Essex*, II., p. 110).

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE MARRIAGE OF MARY AND DARNLEY, 1565 418

Mary, without waiting for the consent of Parliament, conferred the title of king on Darnley, and the obverse accordingly bears the inscription in Latin, "Mary and Henry, Queen and King of Scots." On the reverse, "Whom God hath joined together let not man put asunder."

LOCH LEVEN CASTLE, SHOWING MARY'S TOWER 419

Mary was confined here from June, 1567, to May, 1568, according to tradition in the south-east turret.

GREAT SEAL OF ELIZABETH 420

The second seal, used from 1556 to the end of the reign. The roses on each face on the upper part of the field represent Lancaster and York.

QUEEN ELIZABETH SITTING IN JUDGMENT ON THE POPE 423

This is altered from an engraving representing Callisto (the Pope) brought before Diana (Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen). The attendant nymphs represent the Protestant allies in Europe, whose armorial bearings are shown on their shields; the Pope is in the hands of Time and Truth, but is hatching, from eggs, a cockatrice (the Inquisition), a dragon, etc. One of the eggs bears an inscription indicating that it contains the Prince of Orange's murderer. Cf. *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, I., p. 62.

PORTRAIT OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER 425

From the MS. of College Statutes in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to which Parker bequeathed a magnificent collection of Anglo-Saxon MSS. and other literary treasures. To the date is appended a text of Scripture, "The world passeth away, and the lust thereof."

LORD BURGHLEY 429

Ascribed to Marc Gheeraedts; the great Lord High Treasurer is depicted in the robes of the Order of the Garter.

GODLY ZEAL PLUCKED OUT OF HIS PULPIT 431

"He which preacheth signifieth Godly Zeale, and a furtherer of the Gospel, and the two which are plucking him out of his place are the enemies of God's word, threatening by fire to consume the professors of the same; and that company which sitteth still are Nullisidians, or men of no religion, not regarding any doctrine, so they may be quiet to live after their own wills and minds." (Bateman, *ad loc.*)

PURITAN VIEW OF AN ECCLESIASTICAL COURT 433

"The Asse signifieth wrathfull justice. The man who is drawn away, truth; those that draweth (*sic*) truth by the arms, flatterers; the Friar lies, his associate perjury . . . There can be no greater plague than to have an Asse to bear authority (*sic*). For by such cometh much dissention. Among all Asses, the religious Asse of late being in authority hath done most harme." (Bateman *ad loc.*)

CHAPEL AT IGHTHAM MOTE	PAGE 437
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A remarkable moated house between Sevenoaks and Maidstone. Much of the present building dates from the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. The chapel, which is remarkably perfect in its old arrangement and furniture, dates from the latter reign. In this view the modern altar, with its decorations, is omitted. The house is described by Turner and Parker, *Domestic Architecture in England*, II., p. 282.

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH	439
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Wollaton Hall, Notts, was erected in 1588; Kingston House probably between 1590 and 1620.

MINIATURES OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD	to face 440
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Those of Henry, Prince of Wales, and Sir Philip Sidney are by Isaac Oliver; the painters of the others are unknown.

NICHOLAS HILLIARD, BY HIMSELF	440
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ISAAC OLIVER, BY HIMSELF	441
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Shown at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1891; *cf. Magazine of Art*, 1891, p. 66 *seq.*

COINS OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN	442, 443, 444, 445
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The angels of this type were issued from 1558 to 1578. The inscription on the reverse is from Psalm cxviii. 23 ("This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes"). The three-halfpenny piece was first struck in 1561 and discontinued about 1582. The inscription on the obverse means "Elizabeth by the Grace of God, a rose without a thorn"; on the reverse, "The City of London." The half sovereign bears the inscription "The shield protects the faith"; the sixpence (1566), the shilling (1561), "I have made God my helper," as do the Irish shilling (1558) and the East Indian silver crown (1600 or 1601).

PLANETARY SIGNS OF THE SEVEN DAIES	448
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Scot's work is an exhaustive account of witchcraft as then practised, exposing it as a mixture of jugglery, imposture, and self-deception, and attacking the persecution of reputed witches. He retained, however, some belief in astrology. His other work, the "Perfite Platforme of a Hoppe-garden" (1574), is the first practical treatise on hop culture in England (*cf.* p. 731).

ALCHEMISTS IN THE LABORATORY	449
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From Norton's *Ordinal* (*cf.* Vol. II., p. 591), printed in Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, 1651.

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THE FIRST USE OF THE SIGN OF EQUALITY (<i>see</i> text)	455
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PAGE FROM "RALPH ROISTER DOISTER".	461
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The original page is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. In the scene represented, Ralph, being refused by Madam Custance, proceeds with his friends to attack her house, and is repulsed by her maids. The play is reprinted in Dodsley's *Old Plays*.

PASSAGE FROM "GORBODUC" (edition of 1590)	463
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From "a MS. translation of the tale of 'Hemetes the Heremyte' into English, Italian, Latin and French, pronounced before Queen Elizabeth at Woodstock in 1575." It is printed in Hazlitt's edition.	
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This MS. is preserved partly at the Birthplace Library and partly at the Monument Room of Stratford-on-Avon, and has been reproduced in facsimile by C. M. Ingleby, <i>Shakespeare and the Welcombe Enclosures</i> , 1885, from which book this and the preceding illustration are taken. The important passage in the page shown is a memorandum, "Sept.—W. Shakespeare telling J. Greene that <i>I</i> was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe." By emending " <i>I</i> " into " <i>he</i> " (which is necessary to make sense in another passage of the Diary) this has been taken to show that Shakespeare resisted the enclosure, which the squire (William Combe) promoted and the Corporation opposed, and which, had it been carried out, would have considerably affected his interests. But this interpretation is very doubtful. See Mr. Sidney Lee in <i>Dict. Nat. Biog. s.v. Shakespeare</i> . Greene was Town Clerk of Stratford-on-Avon.	
GRAFTING	485
Leonard Mascall (died 1589) was a busy writer and translator, chiefly concerned with agriculture and domestic economy. This book is based on French and Dutch originals.	
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Still extant, but disfigured by modern alterations. The company was founded in Elizabeth's reign.	
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The Dutch immigrants (mostly cloth-makers and market-gardeners) were allowed to perform divine service in the seventeenth century in this church on payment of 40s. a year, and afterwards on paying one-third of the cost of repairs. Hasted, <i>History of Kent</i> , 1799, IV., p. 285, note.	
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Represents her arrest by Lord William Howard at Ashridge, when she was removed to the Tower. <i>Cf.</i> Cussans, <i>History of Herts.</i>	
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The famous "Eyes and Ears" picture. On the representations of Queen Elizabeth, <i>see</i> text, p. 442.	
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formed by Tradescant in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. and exhibited in his house at Southwark, popularly known as "Tradescant's Ark." His son left it to Elias Ashmole, who offered it to the University of Oxford in 1682.

THE NOBLE ART OF FALCONRY	534
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George Turberville (died *c.* 1610), like Googe, is best known as a poet, but also translated and compiled various other works. The ascription of "The Noble Art of Venerie" to him seems rather doubtful; *cf.* Mr. T. Seccombe's article in *Dict. Nat. Biography*.

FIGURES IN THE MAY GAME, BETLEY HALL	537
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On a window at Betley Hall, near Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire, ascribed by Francis Douce the antiquary (*Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1807), in his *Dissertation on the Ancient Morris Dance*, to the reign of Edward IV., chiefly because of the costumes. Four of the figures, Nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, he regarded as of foreign origin; the rest include Maid Marian, Friar Tuck, the Hobby Horse, Little John, Morris Dancers, and the Fool. All of these, as also Robin Hood and a dragon, were characters in the May Game (Douce, *op. cit.*). The inscription he referred to the reign of Elizabeth. The window, originally engraved for Steevens's edition of Shakespeare, is here reproduced from Gutch, *Lytell Geste of Robin Hood*, 1847, where Douce's dissertation is reprinted.

WINE BOTTLES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	539
ENGLISH SILVER TANKARD OF 1574	541

Tankards seem to have been introduced during the first years of Elizabeth's reign, as the term is used in 1567, and even later, to denote pails or fire-buckets. The earliest examples of the vessel occur about 1565, and of the term as applied to it, about 1575. Cripps, *Old English Plate*, p. 353.

CHIMNEYS AT WOLTERTON MANOR HOUSE, NORFOLK	542
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This house (at East Barsham, and not to be confused with Wolterton Hall in Wolterton Parish) was built in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and is a striking example of richly moulded brickwork. See *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. IV. (1807).

VENETIAN GLASS, FOUND IN LONDON	543
MAP ON TAPESTRY	545

One of three, formerly at Weston Hall, Warwickshire. They contain part of the Midlands and are the first specimens of English tapestry (1573).

"KNOTS" FOR GARDENS	546
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WATERING-POTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	547
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The bottoms are pierced with small holes, shown in the centre example; the pots are filled, and the neck stopped with the finger; when it is removed, the water flows.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, BY MYTENS, HAMPTON COURT.	549
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The portrait is ascribed to Mytens in Charles I.'s catalogue of Hampton Court pictures, but has been attributed to Zuccherro. It is dated 1580, and is a copy of a picture in the National Portrait Gallery. Law, *Guide to Hampton Court*, p. 96.

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RINGS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	556
On the extreme left, a seal ring with arabesque ornamentation and the letters IHS, found in 1825 in old burial-ground near Arbroath; next, a seal ring, with a flower intaglio, found near Haldon Hall, Berwickshire, 1830; next, a ring set with a rough garnet, found near Tweedmouth in 1832; finally, a corded ring with the figure of a rabbit.	
ABERDEEN CATHEDRAL	558
"The only granite cathedral in the world"; a fine example of Decorated architecture with some survivals of Norman. Begun between 1356 and 1380, and despoiled 1560.	
GREAT CHURCHES OF MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND	559
Lincluden, near Dumfries, was converted from a Benedictine nunnery into a collegiate church shortly before 1400, and is a splendid specimen of late Decorated architecture. A history of the place is given by MacDowall, <i>Chronicles of Lincluden</i>, 1886. Elgin Cathedral, said to have been once the most splendid church of Scotland and inferior to few in Europe, was burnt in 1390 by the Earl of Badenoch ("the Wolf") in revenge for his excommunication, and rebuilt in the early fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Glasgow is said to be one of the few nearly perfect examples of medieval church architecture left in Scotland. Its tower is 225 ft. high; its total length 319 ft., its greatest breadth 63 ft., and the height of the roof 90 ft.	
JOUGS AND STOOL OF REPENTANCE	560, 561
The stool belonged to old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh. Of the jugs one set is fixed in the wall of the Round Tower, Abernethy (<i>see</i> on p. 373), the other is from Galashiels. A sackcloth gown of repentance, from West Calder, is preserved in the same Museum.	
TOMB OF LORD GREY DE WILTON, WHADDON, BUCKS	564
VIEW OVER SMERWICK HARBOUR, DINGLE, KERRY	567
PLACES OF DETENTION OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS	571
To Borthwick Castle (one of the finest remaining in Scotland; built soon after 1430; height 110 ft.) Mary fled with Bothwell after their marriage, to avoid capture by the insurgent nobles. These, however, surrounded the castle, and Bothwell escaped, whereupon they retired; he returned, and assisted the Queen to escape in male attire to Dunbar. The castle surrendered to Cromwell in 1650. She was confined at Wingfield Manor House (built <i>temp.</i> Henry VI., demolished under Cromwell after a siege), while in the charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury in 1569, and at Ashby-de-la-Zouche (built <i>temp.</i> Edward IV., surrendered to the Parliament 1645, demolished 1648), for a short time, in November, 1569. Fotheringay, where she was tried in 1586-7 and executed, was so thoroughly demolished by her son James I. in 1604 that only small fragments remain.	
SCENES FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ARMADA	572, 574
These playing cards date from about 1679, and an advertisement of them is preserved. Their publication had reference to the fear	

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of Popish plots prevalent at that date. Willshire, *Catalogue of Playing Cards in the British Museum*, p. 265.

THE ENGLISH AND SPANISH FLEETS OFF CALAIS 573

A section of Ubaldino's map, or rather bird's-eye view, of the course of the Armada up Channel and round the British Isles, bound up with an atlas of Saxton and Ryther. The Armada anchored in Calais Roads, whereupon the English admiral sent in eight fire-ships, and the Spaniards stood out to sea again in panic.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH AND HIS SON 577

Preserved at Wickham Court, West Wickham, Kent. One of the family was a companion of Raleigh in his maritime enterprises.

TOMB OF LORD BURGHLEY, STAMFORD BARON, NORTHANTS 579

He is represented in the robes of the Order of the Garter, holding in his hand his wand of office as Lord Treasurer: a lion is at his feet.

FUNERAL CAR OF QUEEN ELIZABETH 581

Rothschild MS. XV. (MS. Add. 35, 324); a volume (2 ft. by 3 ft.) of drawings of funeral processions, belonging to the early part of the seventeenth century, some of which, including that here reproduced, are coloured. Another copy, without colour (MS. Add. 5408) is reproduced in *Vet. Mon.*, III., 26.

RUINS OF KILCOLMAN CASTLE, CORK 582

Originally a stronghold of the Desmonds, and granted to Edmund Spenser after the suppression of their rebellion. Here he wrote the first three books of the "Faerie Queene," and most probably his "View of the State of Ireland." The house was sacked and burnt, though not quite destroyed, in the Tyrone rebellion of 1598, and his infant son perished, while the poet was compelled to leave Ireland and end his life in London in poverty.

RALEIGH'S HOUSE, YOUGHAL 583

Now called "Myrtle Grove"; described as "a perfect Elizabethan gabled house." Sir Walter Raleigh was chief magistrate of Youghal in 1588-1589, and, according to tradition, planted in the garden the first potatoes ever planted in Ireland.

KINSALE, FROM A DUTCH PRINT OF 1602 585

The town was held for ten weeks, in 1601, by the Spaniards, who had to abandon it owing to the defeat of the Irish army which had attacked the besieging force.

LEYCESTER HOSPITAL, WARWICK 589

Originally the hall of the Guilds of Holy Trinity and St. George; acquired from the town by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and turned by him into a hospital for a master and twelve aged persons of small means, with a preference to his own tenants or to soldiers maimed in the service of the Crown; failing them, the inmates were to be selected from certain parishes in Warwickshire and Gloucestershire. The charity is still kept up.

TITLE-PAGE TO PENRY'S "EXHORTATION" TO THE WELSH, 1588 . . . 593

This was probably the second work printed at the secret press set up at East Moulsey, when Penry and his associates were prevented by the interdict of the Star Chamber from printing openly

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anything against the Royal injunctions, ordinances, or letters patent. It was afterwards removed to Fawsley (p. 613). Religious knowledge among the Welsh at this time was at the lowest possible level. <i>Cf.</i> Waddington, <i>John Penry</i> (1854).	
ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT (artist unknown)	595
OVERMANTEL AT WHITGIFT HOSPITAL, CROYDON	597
Whitgift founded, in 1596, the Hospital of the Holy Trinity at Croydon, for a resident warden and twenty poor persons of both sexes belonging to that place or Lambeth, or any number up to forty for which the revenue should suffice. It was finished on Michaelmas Day, 1599. He also founded a free school at Croydon, now represented by a grammar and a middle school.	
ROMANIST MACHINATIONS	601
From a series of sixteen small prints engraved by Cornelius Danckwerts (b. 1561, d. <i>c.</i> 1634) and entitled "A Thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercie." For the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in 1570, <i>see</i> Froude, <i>History of England</i> , Vol. IX., chap. xviii. Pope Pius V. excommunicated Elizabeth February, 25th, 1570, and absolved her subjects from all oaths of allegiance to her previously taken. The crown of Ireland was offered to Don John of Austria by James Fitzgerald, one of the family of the Earl of Desmond, in 1577. When Don John declined it, Fitzgerald went on to Rome, and received the approval of the Pope for his scheme for the invasion of Ireland, which, however, resulted only in the Spanish capitulation at Smerwick (text, p. 563). The Babington plot (1586) aimed at the assassination of Elizabeth and the substitution of Mary Queen of Scots. Dr. Lopez, the Queen's physician, was executed in 1594 on very inadequate evidence, on the charge of attempting to poison the Queen, which Essex pressed to a conviction.	
THE EARL OF LEICESTER'S ARMOUR	603
It is adorned all over with the badge of the Ragged Staff, and engraved with the badges and collars of the Garter and the Order of St. Michael of France. It was made between 1566 and 1588, and is one of the few which possess the extra pieces (on the left side) for the tiltyard. Loftie, <i>Guide to the Tower</i> .	
ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER	604
TITLE-PAGE OF A "MARPRELATE" TRACT	607
These tracts are noteworthy for the vigour of their invective and the astonishing amount of it that is packed into their respective title-pages.	
A SATIRE ON PLURALITIES IN THE CHURCH	608
Prefixed to a poem "of pluralities; that is to say, of them that overcharge themselves with many benefices," which is emphasised by references to 1 Cor. xi. and Eccles. xxxiv. The drawings of the edition of 1509 are repeated, seemingly from new blocks, in that of 1570, and were apparently accepted as satisfactory by the Elizabethan public. On the work, <i>see</i> note on p. 134.	
THE MANOR HOUSE, FAWSLEY, NORTANTS	613
The first of the Marprelate tracts, directed against Episcopacy, was printed at Kingston, in Surrey; but for fear of detection the type and press were sent down to the house of Sir Richard Knightley at Fawsley (near the residence of Penry's wife's father, and a	

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Puritan centre), and subsequently moved to a farmhouse at Norton. Waddington, *John Penry* (1854), p. 36. The books were printed in the turret, according to tradition.

TITLE-PAGE OF MARPRELATE'S REPLY TO BISHOP COOPER 615

MONUMENT OF HOOKER, BISHOPSBOURNE CHURCH 617

Erected in 1635 by Sir William Cowper, grandfather of the first Earl Cowper, over Hooker's burial place.

WHERE HOOKER MINISTERED 619

Hooker held the living of Drayton Beauchamp for a few months in 1584-5, after his unfortunate marriage; he was Master of the Temple in 1585-1591, and was then presented to Boscombe in order that he might have quiet to complete his great work. He was promoted to Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury (a better living), in 1591, and held it till his death in 1600.

POCKET DIAL OF THE EARL OF ESSEX, 1593 621

A circular case of gilded brass, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter and 1 in. in breadth, bearing his arms. It includes a "nocturnal," or arrangement for enabling the user to find the time at night by measuring the distance between the Pole Star and certain other stars, in this case the "pointers" in the Great Bear, but this has been spoilt by careless repairing; an instrument for the determination of the moon's age from her position in the heavens, or the declination and altitude of the sun, a calendar of church festivals, a compass, a tide table, and a list of important places with their latitude and longitude. It was made by one Kynwyn, who is known to have been established as an astronomical instrument maker in London in 1590. It was possibly used by Essex at Cadiz and presented by him to Queen Elizabeth. It is fully described in *Archæologia*, XL., 343-360, and, as is there remarked, "raises our respect for the men who went to sea with such appliances."

ENGINEER TAKING ALTITUDES 622

From the initial letter of a description of Gluttony, which refers to the conspiracy of Zimri (1 Kings xvi.) against Elah, who was "drinking himself drunk." The engineer is apparently arranging to bombard a town.

ELIZABETHAN ARMOUR 623, 624

From the brasses of Simon Malory, Woodford, near Thrapstone, 1580; of William Disney, Norton Disney, Lincolnshire, about the same date; and of Richard Disney, *ibid.*

SOLDIERS AT SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S FUNERAL 625

This roll, preserved at the Heralds' College, was engraved and published by T. Lant (London, 1587), under the title "*Sequitur celebritas et pompa funeris Domini Philippi Sidney.*" It is referred to by Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, I., 282.

A BATTLE: FROM HOLINSHED'S CHRONICLES, 1577 626

A SIEGE: FROM HOLINSHED'S CHRONICLES, 1577 627

MATCHLOCKS OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD 629

A FIGHT WITH PIRATES 633

From the map of England in Saxton and Ryther's Atlas of England and Wales, 1579. The ship is off the mouth of the Humber, but

the illustration is probably only decorative, like the astonishing representations of mermaids and sea-monsters which adorn these and other maps of the period.

- ENGAGING THE SPANISH ARMADA 635
- From the reproductions published by John Pine in 1739 of the famous tapestries, executed to the order of the Earl of Nottingham (Lord Howard of Effingham, the English admiral), from designs by H. C. Vroom, a Dutch artist. These tapestries decorated the old House of Lords, and were burnt with it in 1834.
- THE *ARK ROYAL* 637
- From a large woodcut, probably contemporary.
- CHART OF THE APPROACH TO FALMOUTH (at Trinity House) . . . 643
- "THE CHEST AT CHATHAM" 645
- Of iron; sent to Greenwich Hospital by the Admiralty in 1845. With it are preserved two account books, showing the sums received and paid by the Clerk of the Chest in the years 1637-1642 and 1654-1655.
- LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM 647
- By Zuccherò; formerly at Hampton Court, but presented to Greenwich Hospital in 1825 by George IV.
- SIR FRANCIS DRAKE 651
- From a picture on panel at Trinity House; probably contemporary.
- A MOHAMMEDAN WOMAN (*see* below, note on pp. 688-695) 657
- VIEW OF GOA ABOUT 1570 (*see* above, note on p. 503) 661
- THE EAST INDIES AS KNOWN IN 1589 663
- From a unique map in Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America*, 1589. Other parts of it will be found at pp. 672, 673. The chart replacing it, in the edition of 1599, shows an immense advance in geographical knowledge.
- SECTIONS FROM JENKINSON'S MAP OF RUSSIA 666, 667
- The Czar Ivan the Terrible is at the upper left-hand corner of the left-hand section. At top of the right-hand section nomads worshipping an idol, which on being consulted by the priest, directs their acts and migrations (always correctly); further to the right, the inhabitants of that region, described as nomad, militant, and carnivorous, and as worshipping the sun, "or a red cloth hung from a pole." The group at the extreme right represents a tribe which, with its flocks and herds, was suddenly turned into stone "about 300 years ago." Below, the Kirgessi (Kirghiz), who hang their dead on trees instead of burying them. It is part of their worship that the priest shall climb a tree and sprinkle the assembled multitude with a mixture of blood, milk, and dung. "This sprinkling is regarded and worshipped as God." These explanations are given in Latin on the map.
- SOUTH AMERICA AND THE ANTARCTIC CONTINENT 672
- THE ATLANTIC OCEAN, WITH SOME IMAGINARY ISLANDS 673
- Some of these islands, *e.g.* that of St. Brendan, appear to be inserted purely on the ground of legend. "Brazil," however, appeared in

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Dutch maps of the seventeenth century, at a time when Dutch trade with the East passed by the Orkneys and the West of Ireland, to avoid English cruisers, and it has been suggested that the island may really have existed and have disappeared, since a shoal now exists in that neighbourhood.

MARTIN FROBISHER 675

MAP BY MICHAEL LOK 677

Lok financed Frobisher's expedition of 1576, spending £7,500 of his own money, and as the result found himself destitute, with a wife and fifteen children. Eventually, in 1581, he was sent to the Fleet Prison. Possibly he dedicated this map to Sir Philip Sidney in order to obtain his release, the circumstances and date of which, however, are unknown.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S ASTROLABE 679

In its simplest form the instrument is held by the projection at top so that the diameter running from it is exactly vertical, and the pointer is then directed to the object, so that the angle can be read off.

CRUISE OF THE *GOLDEN HIND* 680, 681

These four illustrations are from a description in Dutch of the voyages of Drake and Cavendish, with their portraits and a map route, probably printed at The Hague in 1595.

CAVENDISH AND HIS ROUTE 685

ESQUIMAUX WOMAN AND MAN 688

ESQUIMAUX ATTACKING EXPLORERS 689

INDIAN VILLAGE OF POMEIOC 691

INDIANS SPEARING FISH 692

INDIANS OF VIRGINIA 695

The five preceding illustrations are part of two large collections of water-colour drawings, with two or three maps, preserved in the Grenville Library at the British Museum and in the Department of Prints and Drawings respectively. The Grenville volume, containing seventy-six drawings, is entitled "The pictures of sondry things collected and counterfeited according to the truth in the voyage made by Sir Walter Raleigh Knight for the discovery of La Virginia in the 27th yeare of the most happie reigne of our Sovereigne Lady Queene Elizabeth and in the yeare of or Lorde God 1585." The other volume is entitled "W. Raughley's Book by White," and (in another hand) "The originall draughts of ye habits, towns, customs, etc., of the West Indians and of the plants, birds, fishes, etc., found in Greenland, Virginia, Guiana, etc., by Mr. John White, who was a painter and accompanied Sir Walter Raleigh in his voyage." A reference follows to the preface of Theodore De Bry's *America*, in which work, now very rare, some of them were reproduced. Besides the drawings of Indians here reproduced, there are some representing Mohammedans (one of which is given above, p. 657) and other figures from countries bordering on the Mediterranean. The zoological drawings include a bluebird and a blue jay, a "gwanoo" (iguana, a large lizard), land crabs, and many fishes, butterflies and snakes. The botanical include pineapples, plantains, a grape hyacinth, hepatica, pulsatilla

hellebore, tulips, a dog-tooth violet, narcissus, irises, and anemones. A note from a bookseller's or auction catalogue in the Grenville volume states that these drawings are those reproduced by De Bry, and that the other collection is partly the work of one Le Moine. The drawings are of considerable interest for the history of horticulture.

WILLIAM GILBERT 698

Engraved by Clamp from a portrait once in the old Schools at Oxford, now apparently lost.

TWO PAGES OF DR. TYE'S "ACTES OF THE APOSTLES" 699

The music is for four voices, "meane," counter-tenor, tenor, and bass. In one chapter a treble part is substituted for the counter-tenor. The title page describes the contents as designed "to synge and also to play upon the lute, very necessarye for students after their studye to fyle their wyttes, and also for all Christians that cannot synge to reade the good and Godlye stories" of the lives of the Apostles.

VIRGINAL OF 1550, SPINET OF 1552, AND LUTE 701

The virginal, a name given in England to the spinet, more especially in the rectangular form, was developed from the Psaltery, an instrument with wire strings plucked by the fingers. To the psaltery a keyboard was added during the fourteenth century on the analogy of the organ, the strings being plucked by quills or by "spines" of hard leather (whence probably the name) projecting from upright strips of wood called jacks, which were raised by the depression of the keys. Being much more easily fingered than the lute it was much practised by ladies, whence probably the name virginal. The archlute is similar to the theorbo, a lute with an extended neck carrying two sets of tuning pegs, the upper set for the long bass strings. It was used mainly for instrumental music, the theorbo, being smaller, for accompanying the voice. (Rev. F. W. Galpin.) *See* note to illustration on p. 207.

EDMUND SPENSER, BY ALESSANDRO ALLORI 705

The artist, nicknamed Bronzino, was a Florentine painter, born 1535, died 1607.

VELVET *VERSUS* CLOTH 709

Greene's "Quip for an Upstart Courtier" "contrasts the pride and uncharitableness of present times with the simplicity and hospitality of the past, denouncing upstart gentlemen who maintain themselves in luxury by depressing their poor tenants." (Mr. A. H. Bullen in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*) It is reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany.

THE PREY OF THE SHARPER 710

Greene's "Notable Discoverie of Coosenage" gives an account of the tricks practised on the unwary by the sharpers and blackmailers of Elizabethan London, and is described as "written for the general benefit of all gentlemen, citizens, apprentices, country farmers, and yeomen that may happen to fall into the company of such coosening companions." An appendix deals with the tricks of bogus charcoal-sellers who give short weight.

TOM NASH, HIS GHOST; TOM NASH IN IRONS 711

"The Trimming of Thomas Nash," published under a pseudonym, is the last stage in the controversy between Gabriel Harvey and

Thomas Nash, which "began in 1592 in anger and ended in 1597 in abuse" (Payne Collier). It was provoked by a libellous passage (not in any existing copy) in Greene's "Quip for an Upstart Courtier," which stated that Harvey was the son of a ropemaker. Harvey replied, and Nash took up the cudgels in defence of Greene.

PORTRAIT OF RICHARD ALLEYNE	715
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Artist apparently unknown. Alleyne was part owner of the Fortune Theatre and of the Bear-garden in Southwark, and founder of the "College of God's Gift" at Dulwich, perhaps modelled on Sutton's foundation at Charterhouse, and now better known as Dulwich College.

PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE	717
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Purchased at the Stowe sale (of the Duke of Buckingham's collection), September, 1848, by the Earl of Ellesmere, and presented by him to the nation in 1856. Attached to the back of the picture is a note (the authenticity of which has been questioned) stating that "The Chandos Shakespeare was the property of John Taylor, the painter, by whom or by Richard Burbage it was painted," and by whom it was left to Sir William Davenant. After his death it was bought by Betterton the actor," from whom its history is traced until it was inherited by a Duchess of Buckingham (*Catalogue of National Portrait Gallery*). Mr. Sidney Lee regards it as "painted from fanciful reproductions after Shakespeare's death." The other authenticated portrait is an engraving prefixed to the folio of 1623, but is unlike this one except in the baldness. A number of other portraits exist, including a cast of the poet's face alleged to have been taken after his death, and now at Darmstadt; see Mr. Sidney Lee's account of them in his article "Shakespeare" in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

THE OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL, SANDWICH	723
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Richard Knolles was appointed master of the Grammar School by Sir Peter Manwood, son of Sir Roger Manwood, who took the largest share in its restoration, and, according to Antony Wood, "though he was there in a world of troubles and cares, and in a place that afforded no means of comfort to proceed in great works, yet he performed much for the benefit of history at his vacant hours, by the desire of the said Sir Peter." He appears, however, to have neglected his school duties, and was consequently discharged with a pension in 1606, though a decision to get rid of him had been come to four years earlier. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, p. 271 (1792).

PORTRAIT OF BAJAZET (from Knolles, <i>History of the Turks</i>)	727
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HOP CULTURE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY (see note on p. 448)	731
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COUNTRY HOUSE SHUT UP	733
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From a ballad of a later date entitled "Christmas' Lamentation for the Loss of his Acquaintance, and lamenting that 'whereas great men by flocks there be flowne to Londonward, where they in pompe and pleasure now waste that which Christmas was wont to feaste,' . . . since none of these good deedes will do, Christmas had best turn courtier too." The movement townwards thus continued during the next generation.

COOKS (see notes on pp. 134 and 608)	733
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FRUIT TRENCHER OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD . . .	to face	PAGE 734
One of the set of which another is shown at p. 494.		
IRON CHIMNEY PLATE (Ipswich Museum)		734
MINERS' TOOLS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY		736
FLEMISH CLOTH-HALL, CRANBROOK, KENT		738
The Flemings seem to have settled where they could obtain water-power and marl: <i>see</i> a paper in <i>Archæologia Cantiana</i>, Vol. IX. Cranbrook was a very important centre of the broad-cloth manufacture, and its product was famous for its durability and fast colour. The building here shown, a typical specimen of the Kentish cloth halls, is situated at Coursehorn, about a mile from Cranbrook, and was visited by Queen Elizabeth in 1593. Local tradition says she walked to it from the town on Cranbrook broadcloth.		
THE SACK OF ANTWERP, 1576		739
MERCHANTS' TABLE OF 1850, BRISTOL		742
One of four pillars formerly in the Tolzey, Bristol, used by merchants on 'Change as tables for writing or counting money. This is the earliest, the others are of the succeeding century.		
THE HOG HOUSE, BUXTED, SUSSEX		744
Has a hog and the date 1581 carved above the door. It was the residence of the Hogge or Huggett family, one of whom, Ralph Hogge, is said to have cast the first English cannon in 1543. <i>Hare, Sussex</i>, p. 125.		
ANCIENT ENGLISH WEIGHTS AND MEASURES		746, 747
Those in the first group bear Royal and private arms. Those in the second were used by the officers of the University, who had the oversight of weights and measures, and made assize of bread, beer, and wine, and otherwise regulated the sale of victuals.		
FIREBACK OF 1587 (<i>cf.</i> Vol. II., p. 552, note; and above, p. 211) . . .		748
Decorated with fleurs-de-lis and with the arms of Henry Neville.		
PAGE FROM BULLEIN'S "BOOK OF SIMPLES"		749
Several pages are devoted to drawings of herbs and stills for medical use, the former including strawberry, cherry, chickweed, radish, and wormwood. "Alkakengi" is seemingly akin to the Cape gooseberry, or the <i>physalis francheti</i> of our gardens; "Tilia" is the lime-tree. The illustration is of interest as showing the revival of attention to herbals and horticulture after the break at the dissolution of the monasteries.		
THE RICH MAN AND THE POOR MAN		751
"The rich man signifieth a proude man covetous, such a one as careth for no poore man, but for such as hym lyketh (too many such are not good in a commonwealth); the poor man signifieth the povertie generall, whose petitions of such are not heard, nor once relieved." Bateman, <i>ad loc.</i> "Of Pride."		
THE UPRIGHT MAN AND THE COUNTERFEIT CRANK		753
The book called "A Groundwork of Conny-catching," attributed to Greene without evidence except that he wrote another work on the subject, is really a reprint, with some prefatory matter, of		

Thomas Harman's *Caveat or Warning to Common Cursetors* (c. 1576). Harman, whom Dr. Furnivall has called "a keen social reformer," lived at Crayford in Kent, and, being kept at home by ill-health, made it his custom to talk to tramps and study their life. His book contains a list of known professional beggars and rogues. These two figures and the nude figure on the next page represent the same person, as is indicated by the lines beneath. The "Upright Man" was a slang name for a leader of the beggars' calling, "a man who goeth with the truncheon of a staff," and is of so much authority among his fellows that he may demand a share in the gains of any tramp of inferior rank. The "counterfeit crank" is a person who pretends to be subject to "the cranke or falling sickness" (epileptic fits). The first illustration (given also by Harman) represents Nicolas Blunt, an "upright man," *alias* Nicolas Jenynges, "counterfeit crank," who carried blood in a bladder and privately smeared his face with it, then professing to have been injured by falling in his fits. Harman had him watched, and he was detected, despoiled of his ill-gotten gains, and compelled to wash (*cf.* p. 754), when he turned out to be a handsome man with a sound body and a flaxen beard. Harman's work, with other material relative to Elizabethan tramp life, has been reprinted by Dr. Furnivall for the E.E.T.S. and New Shakespere Society, but is adapted only for specialists in sociology.

PAGE

THE IMPOSTOR EXPOSED 754

This illustration is added in the "Groundwork" of Conny-catching," with scenic accessories which scarcely fit the text. On being detected and stripped, the "crank" was covered with a cloak, but he presently escaped, cast it away, and fled naked.

FINGER PILLORY, ST. HELEN'S CHURCH, ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH . . . 755

A substitute for the stocks. The horizontal beam contains holes of various sizes, "cut first horizontally and then perpendicularly, in order that the first joint of the finger may be retained in an angular form; the culprit is then secured by bringing down over the holes another beam," hinged to one of the uprights, and fastened by a lock at its other end. The victim was of course helpless, and his position must soon have become intensely painful. This example, now in the church, is said to have been used to punish disturbers of Divine service; another, still extant at Littlecote Hall, Wilts, was used in the seventeenth century for domestic punishments—*e.g.* for disorderly conduct during Christmas festivities. *Cf. Notes and Queries*, Oct. 25, 1851; W. Andrews, *Bygone Punishments*, 1899. A quotation in Nichols, *History of Leicestershire*, indicates that it was regarded as a less severe means of punishment than the stocks.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, IPSWICH 759

From a print preserved in a collection of materials relating to the history of Suffolk, MS. Add. 8967. The buildings were originally the House of the Black Friars, Ipswich, and were purchased by the Corporation and used for an institution called Christ's Hospital, which was founded in 1569 and received a charter in 1572. This institution combined the functions of the London Bridewell and Christ's Hospital, being used both for the correction of idlers and the instruction of the young, and partly also as an asylum for the aged. It was one of the earliest Bridewells, founded seven years before the Statute for Houses of Correction was passed. In 1748 the original charity had been amalgamated with others, still used in the three ways mentioned. They were pulled down shortly before 1850. Some information about the institution may be found in Bacon, *Annals of Ipswich*, and Wodderspoon, *Ipswich*.

	PAGE
HALL OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.	761
The hall was built in the reign of Elizabeth; its roof has been called "the best piece of Elizabethan architecture in London." The feasts and masques held here under Elizabeth and in the two next reigns are famous.	
LONDON, WEST OF ST. PAUL'S (A SECTION OF A LARGE MAP) . . .	765
BROADSHEET, REFERRING TO THE MORTALITY AT OXFORD IN 1577 . .	769
The British Museum catalogue assigns the example here reproduced to 1625, but notes that the allusion in stanza 4 fixes the date of composition at 1577 or 1578. "Bell" was Sir Robert Bell, Chief Baron of the Exchequer from January 24, 1577, to his death at the assizes; "Baram" was a Serjeant-at-law. The jurors died also, and the High Sheriff, with others. Stow, <i>Annals</i> , under the year 1577. The date was July 4-6.	
THE TABARD INN, SOUTHWARK	772
Demolished in 1874: till about the middle of the nineteenth century it bore an inscription, "This is the Inne where Sir Jeffrey Chaucer and the nine and twenty Pilgrims lay in their journey to Canterbury, anno 1383." The name became "Talbot" after the great fire of 1666. It was situated in High Street, Southwark, opposite the borough town hall, and is given here as the best specimen available of the inn yards, with galleries, which suggested the structure of the modern theatre, and some examples of which are still in existence.	
SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S PIPES AND PIPE CASE.—EARLY PIPES . . .	778, 779
CUCKING STOOL, FROM IPSWICH MUSEUM	781
The ducking or cucking stool was specially used to cool the anger of scolding women, who were lowered in it for a moment, as often as might be needed, into any convenient piece of water.	
A MARRIAGE FÊTE IN BERMONDSEY	783
Though formerly described as "Horselydown Fair," the scene is clearly a wedding feast, with costumes of about 1590. The Tower is seen in the distance; the church (right) is the Abbey Church, now replaced by St. Mary Magdalen; the grounds probably those of Sir Thomas Pope's manor house—part of which still exists as a recreation ground. The artist (Joris Hoefnagel, a Hollander) is on the right, behind musicians and dancers. The bridal procession is coming out of church, preceded by a trophy: the bride's mother is receiving a distinguished guest in the foreground. The picture was shown in the Tudor Exhibition, 1890.	
AN ELIZABETHAN BEDSTEAD (FROM TURTON TOWERS, YORKSHIRE) . .	785
GOSSIPING AT THE MARKET	787
Part of a large woodcut, ascribed to the last year of Elizabeth's reign, entitled "Tittle Tattle; or, the Several Branches of Gossiping." Groups of women are seen at the birth of a child, at the market, at the bakehouse, at the alehouse, washing at the river, at the church, at the "hotte house" (hot baths), and at the conduit—always talking busily. The cut is accompanied by verses of later date. It was freely imitated by Hollar, in his "Market Place" (Parthey, No. 596). Cf. <i>Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires</i> , I., p. 31.	

CHAPTER XI.

THE NEW ORDER. 1558-1584.

ELIZABETH came to the throne in November, 1558, determined to resume the royal authority over the Church which had been asserted by Henry VIII. The wisdom of carrying out a religious revolution, when France and Spain were, by the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis, bringing to an end their long quarrel, might indeed be questioned. But the return of the Marian exiles compelled her to forego the restoration of the "middle way" of Henry VIII., and to cast in her lot with the Protestants. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were promulgated, and Elizabeth could only rely upon her own skill and the jealousies of foreign Powers to aid her in extricating the country from the precarious position in which she found it on her accession. Though there was no immediate danger of a direct attack on England by France or by Spain, the close alliance subsisting between France and Scotland was a serious menace to English independence. In June, 1559, however, the Roman Catholic Church was overthrown in Scotland, the French connection was repudiated, and the Protestant leaders appealed to England for support. After a period of characteristic hesitation, Elizabeth sent an English army to besiege Leith, and in July, 1560, the Treaty of Edinburgh practically destroyed French influence in Scotland, and largely augmented the English queen's reputation in Europe. In 1562 the wars of religion broke out in France, and Elizabeth, fearing that the overthrow of the Huguenots might lead to a close union between France and Spain, occupied Havre, but failed to hold it on the conclusion of the first Civil War. Henceforth the religious wars and political differences between the French and Spanish Courts secured England from danger on the side of France,

A. HASSALL.
England and
Europe.

and Elizabeth and Catherine de Medicis found that they had many interests in common.

Scotland.

During the next four years (1564–1568) events in Scotland gave the English Government much anxiety. Mary Stuart, on the death of her husband, Francis II., had returned to her kingdom in August, 1561, and, supported by all parties, was bent not only on being recognised as heir-presumptive to the English crown, but on removing Elizabeth from the English throne. Her marriage with Darnley (July, 1565) was followed by political and religious turmoil, exemplified in the murders of Rizzio (1566) and of her



MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE MARRIAGE OF MARY AND DARNLEY.

husband (1567). Her marriage with Bothwell ruined her cause in Scotland, the Protestant lords overthrew her at Carberry Hill, and she was compelled to abdicate in favour of her son (July, 1567). Her escape from Loch Leven the following year, and her defeat at Langside, forced her to take refuge in England. Meanwhile in Ireland, which, as we have seen in the last chapter, was in a state of partial rebellion at Elizabeth's accession, the revolt of Shane O'Neill (p. 562) had broken out again in 1562, and had terminated only to be succeeded in 1569 by the far more serious rising of the Geraldines.

Ireland.

**The
Religious
Struggle.**

During the next twenty years England passed through a period of unparalleled difficulties. Calvinists and Catholics struggled for supremacy. The presence of Mary in England constituted a perpetual danger, and the outlook on the Continent was uncertain. Archbishop Parker (1559–1575)

endeavoured by means of the High Commission Court and the Book of Advertisements to enforce uniformity. The Independent party arose, and Parliament, itself strongly Puritan, enforced in 1571 subscriptions to the Thirty-nine Articles. Archbishop Grindal (1576-1583), himself a moderate Puritan, refused to repress Puritanism, and was suspended by Elizabeth (p. 434). This steady growth of the Protestant party in England was due in great measure to the aggressive



LOCH LEVEN CASTLE, SHOWING MARY'S TOWER.

attitude of the Papacy and to the steady development of the Counter-Reformation. The imprisonment of Mary in England brought in its train plots for her release, for the overthrow of Cecil, the deposition of Elizabeth, and the restoration of Catholicism. A conspiracy headed by the Duke of Norfolk collapsed in October, 1569, and the insurrection of the Northern earls was easily suppressed before the end of the year. In 1570 the excommunication of Elizabeth by Pius V. was followed by the discovery of Ridolfi's plot (1571), the execution of Norfolk (1572), the arrival of a large number of seminary priests from Douai to stir up the Catholics in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the underhand intrigues of Spain.

Influences
favouring
Elizabeth.

During this dangerous period (1568-1584) Elizabeth found support (1) in the attitude of Parliament, (2) in the revolt of the Netherlands, (3) in her alliance with France. The Parliament of 1572, like all the Parliaments of the reign, displayed a strong Puritan feeling, and warmly supported the Queen against her enemies. The same year the Dutch rose against Spain, and Philip, fearful of driving England into a close alliance with France, and of imperilling his hold on the Netherlands, refused to regard the repeated aggressions of England as a *casus belli*. Henceforth Elizabeth secretly assisted the rising under William of Orange, though she always hoped to bring about a compromise between the contending parties. In 1577 Drake commenced his voyage



GREAT SEAL OF ELIZABETH.

round the world, and during the next three years attacked the Spanish colonies, inflicting very serious damage on Spanish trade (p. 679). In April, 1572, Elizabeth, after one or two false steps, had at last concluded a defensive alliance with France, and this alliance was till 1584 "the corner-stone of her foreign policy." The Massacre of St. Bartholomew did not impair this friendship between the two Governments, which proved of the utmost value to England. In 1578, diplomatic relations (broken off in 1571) with Spain were renewed with the arrival of Mendoza in England, though in the following year Philip sent troops to Ireland and incited a Catholic reaction in Scotland. Till 1584 Elizabeth's waiting policy, pursued in opposition to the wish of Cecil, who

1584]

always desired a thorough-going anti-Catholic crusade at home and abroad, proved successful. Instead of forming a league with all foreign Protestants and entering upon an internecine war with Catholics at home and abroad, instead of marrying a French prince and interfering actively in Scotland, where the Anglophile party, headed by Morton, was struggling against Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox, the representative of the Guises and of Catholic Europe, Elizabeth resolutely refused to adopt a spirited foreign policy, and in 1581 her marriage scheme with the Duke of Anjou was broken off. Events showed the correctness of her judgment, and the position of England at the beginning of 1584 justified her determination to preserve peace. The Raid of Ruthven (August, 1582) overthrew the party of Lennox, avenged the death of Morton, and showed the absence of danger to England from a country torn by rival noble factions. England had since her accession enjoyed peace and good government, and in 1584 was strong, prosperous, and prepared for the great struggle which could no longer be averted.

Her
Policy.

UNDER Elizabeth the reformed settlement of religion which obtained in the early years of Edward VI. was restored, as far as one time can ever reproduce another. But the point at which the Queen stopped in her anti-Romanism, and the point at which were fixed the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England for the rest of the sixteenth century, was, in technical terms, well-nigh the same as the point arrived at by the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. (1552; p. 266).

CHARLES
RAYMOND
BEAZLEY.
*The State
and the
Church.*

The most extreme developments of Genevan and Zwinglian Protestantism, which were on the point of bringing to pass a third revision of the Liturgy at the end of her brother's reign, were held in check by Elizabeth and her chief advisers in Church matters, Cecil and Parker; the new revision of 1559 was even slightly—like all subsequent additions and corrections of the Prayer Book—in favour of the Anglican Catholicism of Henry VIII.'s last years, and of the first English Liturgy; the distinctive religious mark of the new reign was the evolution of organised Puritanism on the one side, and on the other of that High type of Churchmanship which produced the work of Hooker, Andrewes, and Laud, and the first Old Catholic school of modern times.

The Eliza-
bethan
Settle-
ment,
1558-9.

Thus, while on one side, the connection with Rome was finally and promptly broken; while the religion of English society, as a whole, ceased from the year 1558 to acknowledge the Papal obedience and took to itself gradually a popular Protestant character of an unmistakable kind—yet, within that once compact body of abhorrrers of Papistry, a division became every year more apparent between the moderate of the Anglican or Royalist party and the uncompromising zealot of the school of Calvin and of Knox.

Church
and State.

The permanent threefold division of English religion into Churchman, Nonconformist, and Roman Catholic begins in the reign of Elizabeth for all practical purposes, though she would have been the last to recognise the fact. To her, as to the bishops, there was never more than one Church in England—the Church recognised and protected by the State, said the Court; the Church of the ancient ministerial succession, said the High Churchmen who came to the front in the later years of the reign.

But in this later as well as in the earlier period of the Tudor Revolution, the central thought in all religious change and settlement was national, political, or social rather than ecclesiastical. The reformation of the Church, as of all other parts of the English social system, was the work of the State, of the Crown, as representing the people. And, except in the reign of Henry VIII. himself, no epoch of the Tudor dynasty shows the secondary place of purely religious interests, in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern World, more thoroughly than the age of Elizabeth. The Church is treated very much as an arm of the Civil Service—a dignified but pleasantly helpless prey of an impecunious sovereign and a rapacious Court; the Queen, without the title, enjoys a full reality of supreme headship; each one of the new Queen's primates at Canterbury—Parker, Grindal, Whitgift—complains without ceasing of the petty oppressions of powerful laymen. Still more is the subject and tributary position of the English Establishment at this time proved by the tone of the current apologies for its reformation, such as Jewell's, where the main charge against Popery is its disloyalty to princes, and the main boast of the reformer is his own obedience to the great laws of Christ—"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," for "My kingdom is not of this world."

On the Prayer Book, the Articles of Religion, and the

1584]

Homilies¹ appointed to be read in churches, was stamped the same mark of State control. The ornaments of churches existed by the authority of Parliament; the General Councils of the Church could not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes; the sin of rebellion was denounced in the only authorised sermons of the time as the most deadly of all crimes. "For this,"² as Jewell declares, "is our doctrine,

Doctrine
and
Ritual.



QUEEN ELIZABETH SITTING IN JUDGMENT ON THE POPE.

(From a Contemporary Print.)

that every soul, of what calling soever he be—be he monk, be he preacher, be he prophet, be he apostle—ought to be subject to kings and magistrates.”³

And this subjection, enforced as rigidly by Cecil in 1570 as

¹ "He that nameth rebellion," says the Homily on Disobedience (Part iii., init.) "nameth not a singular or only sin, as is theft and such like, but he nameth the whole puddle and sink of all sins against God and man."

² "Apology," Part iv., p. 85 (Cassell's ed.).

³ Contrast with this the extreme medieval Churchman's attitude, as expressed in Boniface VIII's bull "Unam Sanctam": "It is altogether necessary that every human creature should be subject to the Roman Pontiff." (A.D. 1302.)

by Henry and Cromwell in 1536, carried with it not merely a paralysis of Church machinery and Church action (except so far as the Government allowed), not merely the great central doctrine and position that the Crown's majesty had the care of the souls as well as of the bodies of its subjects—but an infinite amount of petty tyranny. Elizabeth's language to the Bishop of Ely, like Henry VIII.'s to the Archbishop of Dublin, was the language of the Court to any ecclesiastic who tried to assert rights of any sort against the good pleasure of the Government, its friends and favourites. The proud prelate, who had shown an unpardonable and amazing reluctance to resign to Christopher Hatton with cheerful readiness the gardens of Ely House, is warned to remember who it was that had made him; if he did not come to a better mind on that point, the Queen screamed at him, as it were, by letter—"by God I will unfrock you." Not even her father had ever dealt more plainly with a "lewd priest." In a way that unpleasantly recalls some of the exactions of William Rufus, we hear of bishoprics often kept vacant, while the Crown drew the revenues; of constantly recurring grants of Church property to noble, or powerful, or at least importunate, beggars; especially of the Commissions of Concealment, issued under the guise of completing the work of monastic dissolution by inquiring if the Crown was still defrauded by any concealment of confiscated property.

The Com-
missions
of Conceal-
ment.

These commissions were so shamefully abused by the Court harpies, the "bottomless Baggs" thus let loose upon the clergy, that Burghley himself interfered to spoil their game, and desired of Parker "some particular information against them." It was forthcoming in abundance;¹ but so many people, from Leicester downwards, were interested in the extortions, that they recurred "even to the latter end of the reign." And they went so far as to procure many of the possessions of the churches, especially the new foundations, as concealments, "and that for very trifles."²

¹ Thus Parker wrote, December 25, 1572, to Burghley: "Will this turn to honour, after the fruits, tenths, subsidies, of late most liberally granted: after the arrearages of tenths, of subsidies, from King Henry's days, required and extorted: and some of these . . . twice and thrice discharged, and now, after all this such pastimes to be procured?" . . . "I can say no more," he adds in April next, to the same friend, "but Jesus misereatur nostri. Est modus in rebus." "By which short expressions, insinuating the miserable estate of the clergy." Strype, "Parker," ii. 225-6.

² *Ib.*, p. 227.

A more extreme way to scourge the clergy, as Parker wrote on Christmas Day, 1572, could not have been devised.

Thus it was not wonderful that Elizabeth's reign came to look like an Egyptian bondage to those Churchmen of the seventeenth century who, with high ideas of ecclesiastical privilege, were not tempted to quarrel with a Royal patronage so kindly

Compensa-
tions for
Control.



PORTRAIT OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

(From a MS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.)

and so watchful as that of the earlier Stuarts. But at the time, in the intensely embittered war between the Protestant or anti-Papal world and the Catholic Reaction, there was little room for any party of Anglican defenders. The Queen's life stood between them and extermination or apostasy—so believed the ordinary ministers of the English reformed religion in 1560. The govern-

ment which saved their lives and gave them the means of subsistence was a saviour many years before it was thought of as a plunderer. And the supremacy of the lay power over the ecclesiastical had been too completely achieved for a clerical interest, in the England of Elizabeth's early years, to exist apart. All who protested against the Pope's system were in one boat together; and the man who could fight best had the undisputed right to steer it.

The
Church
as a Com-
promise.

This underlay the other fact: that the compromise on which rested the religious establishment of the new reign was scarcely supported by anyone for its own sake; was as furiously attacked by Calvin's men as by the Pope's; was a sort of Laodicean mixture to all the zealots who supplied the martyrs of Mary's cruelty, and only won its way as a practical working evasion of the spiritual tyranny both of Rome and Geneva, by slow degrees, almost in spite of itself, by the fact of inherent reasonableness, in times when passionate unreason guided the religious feeling of most. For the Church of England survived the attacks of Romanist and Puritan alike, because it suited the mass of English lay people better than either of the two extremes which threatened to crush it, and because it was, on the whole, amenable to the will of that same people.

Between 1558 and 1584 two archbishops carried out the will of the government in Church matters. Matthew Parker (1559-1575) was the most faithful, as he was the earliest expression of the distinctive Elizabethan settlement of religion. Grindal (1576-83), who followed him, and Whitgift (1583-1604), who followed Grindal, were either too Puritan or too Anglican for the exact correspondence that was aimed at between Lambeth and Westminster. But this was realised under Parker: he was less troubled by Nonconformity, by court intrigue, by petty interference, than either of his successors—though he enjoyed plenty of worry from all these sources—and he had the personal confidence of the Queen and of Cecil beyond any ecclesiastic of the time.

It is only possible here to give the briefest outline of religious history during the years of these two Primates (1558-1583); but we should miss the real character of that history if we thought of either Parker or Grindal as having an independent policy, or forgot to notice the place of Cecil in

Church as well as in State. In a very real sense, the reign of Elizabeth is the reign of Cecil; and whereas it is common enough to get a recognition of the great personal share of the Queen in the religious settlement, we are yet in want of an adequate view of Cecil's control of and interference with the same. But there is hardly a difficulty confronting Parker about which he does not consult Mr. Secretary (the Lord Treasurer Burghley of 1572 and onwards); and though Cecil was apparently in favour of a more thoroughgoing "reduction of the Church to its former purity," the practical outcome, in doctrine as in ritual, of the Elizabethan settlement was so far more Protestant than the letter of the Prayer Book and its rubrics, that he had every reason to be satisfied with the reduction. Thus the government of the Church is through Parker, by Cecil, with occasional interference of the Queen against the will of both. But the seasons were very few when the calm wisdom of the minister could not, in the long run, control the impetuous, ever-changing moods of the sovereign, whose distrust of herself was her own salvation.

The
Church
Policy
of Lord
Burghley.

Unfortunately, the ultimate control of good sense was often delayed long enough for a great deal of incidental trouble to be felt. "Her Majesty told him once," Parker complained, at the end of his life,¹ "that he had supreme government ecclesiastical, but what is it to govern cumbered with such subtilty? He charged the Lord Treasurer to use still such things as might make to good judgment and help her Majesty's government in princely constancy, whatever the policy of the world would induce. To dance in a net in this world is but mere vanity."

The primacy of Parker was marked by a number of legislative acts, re-establishing, though in a more moderate way, the chief characteristics of the system of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

1. The Act of Supremacy, brought into Parliament February 27th, passed into law April 29th, 1559, restored to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction "over the state ecclesiastical," over all spiritual courts and persons, and empowered the Queen by letters patent to give commission² to such as were thought fit to "visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend

Legislation
for the
Church.

¹ 1575. Strype, "Parker," ii. 423-5.

² This was the real origin of the High Commission Court under Elizabeth.

all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses and offences which by any manner of spiritual jurisdiction can be lawfully reformed, ordered, or amended." The same Act contained clauses repealing all the Acts made for religion in Mary's reign, and revising those of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. For the title of Supreme Head was substituted that of Supreme Governor; and the vast powers given to the Crown by this statute were somewhat limited by a definition of the heresies and errors that fell within its scope. Nothing was to be punished as false doctrine unless it could be proved to be such by Scripture, by one of the first four councils, by a national or provincial synod "determining according to the Word of God," or by Parliament in time to come, with the assent of Convocation.

By the same Act the old method of nominating bishops by *Congé d'élire*, instead of by letters patent, was restored: penalties were denounced against all maintainers of the Papal supremacy: and the oath acknowledging the Royal headship in spirituals as well as temporals was imposed upon every holder of office under the Crown, which thus resumed the absolute discretionary power of 1534 over the Church.

The
Liturgy
Reformed.

2. Matters of government being thus provided for, matters of religion proper, of liturgical and ritual usage, were next dealt with by the revised Prayer Book of 1559. First, until the Committee of Eight appointed to revise could issue the final text, a Royal proclamation of December 27th, 1558, provided for the interim, commanding "all manner of persons to forbear to teach or preach" or to use any public prayer, other than what was already used.

The revision, in spite of Elizabeth's own preference for formularies of a Catholic tone, took the second or more Protestant book of Edward VI. (1552) as a basis, and simply re-issued it with a few important though apparently slight changes, intended to conciliate all the more moderate of the old-fashioned party. Thus the form of administration of the Communion was made up by the union of the two clauses, which, separately used, had so sharply defined the difference between the first two editions of the English Prayer Book. "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." "Take and eat this in

remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." Again, the declaration on kneeling at the end of the Communion Office, commonly called the Black Rubric, and originally printed in 1552, as a concession to the extreme Protestant party, was omitted. Thus the one explicit denial of the Real Presence disappeared for good from the Anglican Liturgy, which no longer denied



Photo: Walker & Cockerell, Clifford's Inn, E.C.

LORD BURGLEY.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

"the real essential presence of Christ's flesh and blood" in the Sacrament. The suffrage in the Litany which prayed for deliverance "from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities" was cut out: a Table of Sunday Lessons was added, and the Ornaments Rubric, prescribing the vestments and church ornaments of the second year of Edward VI. (1548-9), was inserted at the last moment, seemingly by the Queen in council after the formal passing of the book through Parliament.¹

¹ The general effect of the alterations was to take away from the Prayer Book the distinctly anti-medieval character which the revision of 1552 had given it.

The
Act of Uni-
formity.

3. The use of the revised Prayer Book was enforced, and the new settlement of religion defined and affirmed in the Act of Uniformity, which passed into law April 28th, 1559, by a majority of three in the House of Lords, and gave the Crown a general power of publishing such further "ceremonies and rites" as might be thought fit. A fine of one shilling was imposed for each case of absence from the reformed church service, without reasonable excuse, after the day when it should be generally taken into use—namely, the feast of S. John Baptist (June 24th), 1559.

The Su-
premacy
of the
Crown.

4. The old Tudor privilege of Church spoliation, disguised under well-sounding terms of law, was also restored to the Crown by three minor Acts of Elizabeth's first Parliament, one giving first-fruits and tenths, another the revenues of Mary's religious foundations, and the third the manors of vacant sees to the Supreme Governor of English religion. The Queen also gained a special power of annexing the coveted possessions of any bishopric or benefice in the kingdom, giving in exchange inappropriate tithes; but, as every one of her archbishops bewailed, the sovereign never came off the loser by this conveyance.

5. To supplement the Prayer Book and the acts above referred to, fifty-three Injunctions,¹ reprinted with important changes from those of King Edward, were now issued for the guidance of the Church, more especially in the troubled interval between the deposition of the Marian hierarchy and the establishment of their successors.

6. For, in striking contrast to the attitude of the main body of the parish clergy, among whom only 189 out of some 9,000 are said to have resigned, the bishops whom Elizabeth found in office proved thoroughly intractable, and had to be deprived and committed to custody. Only one, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, would act at her coronation: only one, Kitchen of Landaff, would subscribe the new Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity: the ranks of the Episcopate had been terribly thinned by death, but of the survivors, fourteen out of fifteen refused to yield (May 15th, 1559), and

¹ They dealt, *e.g.* with: 1, Images; 2, Clerical celibacy; 3, Clerical dress; 4, Church ornaments; 5, Church song; 6, Royal supremacy; 7, Holy tables; 8, Sacramental bread.

of the twenty-six English sees of that time twenty-five were now vacant.

If the rank and file of the Queen's party could have had their way, they would never have been filled again, and the line of English bishops would have closed with Pole and his suffragans, but the Government had determined to maintain the old methods of Church order, and Matthew Parker, Dean



GODLY ZEAL PLUCKED OUT OF HIS PULPIT.

(S. Bateman, "*A Chrystall Glasse of Christian Reformation*," 1569.)

of Lincoln under King Edward, was forced into the Metropolitan See after a long delay, and consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in Lambeth Chapel on Dec. 17th, 1559. The most important of the other dioceses were all filled by the end of Jan., 1560, and the formal work of the Elizabethan settlement of religion was complete, at least in outline.

7. In the next fifteen years, under Parker's direction, several efforts were made to define more clearly the Church's position in matters of doctrine, ritual, discipline and government.

(a) As to doctrine, we have first the Eleven Articles of 1560,

The Set-
tlement
Supple-
mented.

Doctrine. the Thirty-Nine Articles of 1563, reduced from the forty-two of Edward VI., and finally issued in 1571, the Completed Homilies of 1563, in which Edwardian material was again used as a basis, and Dean Nowell's abortive attempt to re-issue Poynt's catechism as a summary of Church of England teaching.

Besides these, the Bishop's Bible of 1568 was an attempt to give a thoroughly Anglican version of the Scriptures, in opposition to the popular Geneva Bible, with its Calvinistic notes; and, lastly, though only the work of a single man, Jewell's Apology of the Church of England was accepted on all sides as the complete and satisfactory statement of her position in 1562.

Ritual. (b) As to ritual, these years saw the opening of the endless Vestiarian Controversy. The letter of the Prayer Book in the Ornaments Rubric, and the personal predilections of the Queen, required the use of all the chief medieval vestments, as ordered in the first English Liturgy of 1549. In practice it was found extremely difficult to enforce the use of the surplice only. The compromise attempted by Parker in his Advertisements of 1566 (p. 587), which ordered the surplice in all parish churches, with the addition of the cope at Communion in cathedrals and collegiate foundations, was a failure, and from the year 1563 there is a continuous struggle with a more or less organised Nonconformity within the Church.

Discipline. (c) The struggle to enforce the discipline of the Church, the fight for the Godly discipline, was the struggle which Elizabeth's death found as present as her early years had done; it was a struggle to enforce a minimum of ritual upon the Puritans and Precisians and a maximum of morality upon the scandalous ministers who then troubled the Church in perhaps unusual force. In spite of all the efforts of the Queen, Parker, and Cecil, it would not be easy to exaggerate the variety of usage within the churches, the evasion of the most plain requirements of the Prayer Book, or the disorder of spiritual interests as a whole, more especially in the outlying districts.¹

¹ For the low condition of the Church, *e.g.* in 1572, *cf.* Strype's "Parker," ii., 204-5. "The Church was neglected, occasioned, in measure, by controversies about the Church's government, and other external matters . . . which so employed the thoughts and zeal of Clergy and Laity that the better and more substantial parts of it were very little regarded. The churchmen heaped up many benefices upon themselves, and resided upon none; many alienated their

The Puritan opposition found friends enough among the great men at Court to be able to thwart Parker at every turn: he declared again and again to Cecil that he was weary of his life—"some drew back while he drew forward." What was the use of struggling with such a stone of Sisyphus? "I may not work against Puritans," he cries in despair in the last year of his life, "though the laws be against them."



PURITAN VIEW OF AN ECCLESIASTICAL COURT.

(S. Bateman, "*A Chrystall Glasse of Christian Reformation*," 1569.)

(d) As to government, the standing difficulty of a dual control—a nominal one by the bishops, a real one by the Council—Government.

lands, made wastes of their woods, granted advowsons to their children. Churches ran greatly into decays: were kept nasty and filthy, and undecent for God's worship. Among the laity there was little devotion. The Lord's Day greatly profaned and little observed. The common prayers not frequented. Some lived without any service of God at all. Many were mere heathens and atheists. The Court an harbour for *epicures* and *atheists*, and a kind of lawless place, because it stood in no parish." All which, Strype says, put Lord Burghley upon considering about effectual remedies. Besides this, the vexation of the Concealment Commissions (Strype, "Parker," ii., 227) lasted all the Queen's reign. For similar reports of the Church in South Wales later on, *cf.* Strype, "Grindal." 401-2.

hampered the work of Parker and Grindal, and it was only with the primacy of Whitgift, when the Ecclesiastical Commission was put on a permanent footing, and both councillors and bishops were enlisted in its service and joined in a single board which really controlled the government of the Church of England, that any improvement was reached in the practical working of ecclesiastical affairs. Unfortunately for the Church, this practical improvement was associated with such an increase of dogmatic clearness and "admired" severity, that dissent began to take a much more serious shape. On another side, the attempt to give the Church of England a code of reformed canon law fell to the ground now and for ever (1571-2) in the failure to gain Parliamentary sanction for the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, prepared and brought forward under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. It was not the interest or wish of Court, Council, or Commons to allow the Church they had "amended" to develop its organisation or to gain a basis for independent action. Let it remain as amorphous, as vague, as harmless as possible, consistently with such decent conformity to the rules of State as any branch of civil service would demand.

Grindal
Suspended

Grindal, who refused to be altogether guided by the royal supremacy he acknowledged, found himself sharply checked. On his demur to the Queen's order (1577) for suppression of the prophesyings or class meetings of the Puritans, where ministers and laymen¹ met together to discuss theology and practise debate in divinity, he was suspended, his see sequestered, and the main part of his work delegated to other and more pliant officials. The punishment was removed in 1582, just before his death, when his spirit was "enough purged of his proud folly," and he had forgotten the words with which he had once, in 1577, stood up against the State commands—"That in matters of faith bishops were wont to judge of Christian emperors, not emperors of the bishops."

He, like the other Churchmen of the day, had to learn that lesson that Jewell had learnt so well—"That a Christian prince hath the charge of both tables, temporal and spiritual, committed

¹ Grindal was quite ready to be shocked at laymen thus presuming to talk about spiritual matters on an equality with the clergy—but as to the prophesyings themselves, apart from their abuses, he would not give way, "choosing rather to offend her Majesty than the heavenly." Strype, "Grindal," 325-9.

to him by God, to the end he may understand that not temporal matters only, but also religious and ecclesiastical causes pertain to his office."

For to that view were doggedly pledged the mass of the English people, the whole nation with the exception of three small groups—the Protestant Separatists of 1564 and later years, the Roman Separatists of 1570, and a few, a very few, within the Established Church, who sympathised with the unbending theories, though not with the self-abnegation, of one or other, or both, of these extremes.

THE reigns of the son and elder daughter of Henry VIII. have little architectural significance. The Duke of Somerset, the Protector, was a great patron of the Italian John of Padua, an artist who had been employed, in a more or less subordinate character, in France, and who brought to his work, though with probably less intelligence and invention, the same ideas which are exemplified abroad by the work of Vignola, Lescot, and De Lorme. The Italian architecture was, in fact, about to close its grip on the decadent Gothic and finally to strangle it; but, during the period of the agony a development of great interest took place, largely in the reign of Elizabeth, which has left its traces all over England.

REGINALD
HUGHES.
Architecture
and Art.

It is commonly said that the Elizabethan architecture grew out of the attempt to reconcile the English Gothic with the classical Italian. But if there was any such attempt, it would seem to have been made unconsciously. Classical details, no doubt, were borrowed from the Italian monuments, which were the real beginnings of the Renaissance in England. These date back to the very first year of the century, while the Renaissance architecture was three-quarters of a century later. Elizabethan is at first irregular in plan, Gothic in feeling, troubling itself little about proportion, but delightfully picturesque. The later, or more fully developed Elizabethan, is distinguished by regularity, and by a feeling for proportion in mass and façade, which is much more Italian, even Palladian in spirit, though Palladio was not yet an influence. John of Padua, or at any rate the architect of Longleat, is probably responsible, to a large extent, for this change of feeling. But whoever may be

The
Genesis of
Elizabethan
Architecture.

responsible, it is quite impossible to compare the two kinds of work without seeing that a great change has been in progress.

Native.

Knole, Penshurst and Haddon Hall are, perhaps, the most typical specimens of houses built in that earlier style of what we call the indigenous Elizabethan—the Elizabethan, that is, which is the most English and least Italian. All three were rebuildings, with additions, of fortified manor-houses of early date, and present all sorts of conundrums for the inquirer who would discriminate between the old and the new. There is a great variety in arrangement in all of them, though a few features may be described as normal: but these were present long before, and are found long after, the reign of Elizabeth. Such were the great hall where dinner was served daily, the long gallery, usually giving access to the garden, and the solar, or withdrawing-room. Usually, too, there was a chapel or oratory, and this even in small houses, such as Ightham Mote, though occasionally in large houses (Cobham, for instance) it was omitted. These rambling buildings are, of course, infinitely more picturesque than their Italianised contemporaries, which differ from them chiefly by their symmetry and proportion, and, not unfrequently, their absolute regularity of plan. The name of these, too, is legion, Longleat (Vol. I., p. lxxxi.), Hardwick, Audley End, the ruined Kenilworth, and the famous Kingston House at Bradford-on-Avon, being the most famous. Longleat, perhaps, shows the Italian influences most clearly, not only in details, such as the engaged column between the windows and at the central doorway, but in its superb proportions, and the stately uniformity of its mass. But Kingston House, or “the Duke’s house” at Bradford, though smaller, is more beautiful—indeed, perhaps the most beautiful specimen that we possess. The following description by an enthusiastic admirer of Elizabethan will serve to explain its typical character:—

Italianised.

“The front has two storeys, topped by attics under three gables. The central window projects squarely; the side windows are much wider, and each projects in a small semi-circular bow. Over the windows is a beautiful flat balustrading, not in the least Italian, yet not Gothic. This balustrading is typically Elizabethan; and on the terrace and steps into the garden it is of the same character, but of a different pattern. Between the projecting windows are others, flat, so that the whole front is taken up with a series of lights, those on the ground-floor being interrupted only by the entrance. These windows are formed by stone mullions, two

transoms, in each opening, running along the whole front. The chimneys are plain and square, set cornerwise. There are two gables at the side of the house, with four tall, plain, double-cross mullioned windows in two storeys. The back is very like the front, but plainer. The entrance doorway from the terrace is the only place where we see any Italian features,



CHAPEL AT IGHTHAM MOTE.

(By permission of T. Colyer-Fergusson, Esq.)

two graceful, but very plain, engaged columns standing on either side. Unlike so many houses of the period, the duke's has no courtyard, the centre being occupied by a wide newel stair, an unusual but very pleasing feature. The rooms are, of course, magnificently lighted, and are light in proportion to their size. The ceilings are beautifully decorated with plaster fret-work. There is not, except in a kind of cresting over the door, and the balustrades already mentioned, an inch of ornament anywhere; yet the effect is ornamental in no slight degree. The whole front is about 50 feet high, about 60 wide. . . . There can be little doubt

that the same architect designed both it and Longleat. In each there is the same reliance upon proportion, rather than upon ornament, to ensure an ornamental effect, the same abundant fenestration, the same beautiful parapet work, and, as compared with contemporary buildings, the same freshness and originality."¹

Renaissance
Architecture.

Not, perhaps, quite abreast of the Italianised Elizabethan, but, as one may say, at its girths, came the new style, which owed nothing to Gothic, but was wholly the product of the classical Renaissance. Of great buildings in this style few seem to have been erected, though Gresham's Royal Exchange may possibly have been an exception; but none of these, so far as is known, remain. Have, or Havenius, of Cleves, seems to have been the architect of the Exchange, and he certainly was of the gate of Virtue and Wisdom, and of the gate of Honour at Caius College, Cambridge. The former of these was completed in 1567, the latter in 1574; and it is noteworthy that it was between those very years that Longleat was being built. In both gates the archway is slightly pointed. Both are adorned with Ionic pilasters, and both are charming. The Gate of Honour is, indeed, by itself sufficient to keep Have's name from being forgotten. Although the details are not quite pure, the ensemble is of the most delicate beauty and balance; and this gate, crowned with a small temple-like structure of the Corinthian order, forms one of the few gems of pure Renaissance work in this country. Not unnaturally, the feeling for classical work seems to have taken more root in the universities, though the proof of this is mostly evidenced by later examples. Elsewhere one can almost fancy that one sees faint glimmering signs of a Gothic revival. Thus Wollaton, commenced the year after Longleat was finished, shows a stronger Gothic feeling. Longford, commenced in 1591, when Wollaton was being completed, has less Italian dignity than either, though the use of the order as a means of decoration is more profuse. There is a jumbling of motives too. The Doric pillars which adorn the porch immediately support pointed arches, while those above them are circular. On the whole, during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, there is a tendency to that anarchy in architecture which was, a little later, to be expressed in the quaint form to which the name Jacobean has been given.

¹ Loftie, "Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren," p. 66, *seq.*



Wollaton Hall.



Knole House, Sevenoaks. *Photo: Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.*



Kingston House, Bradford-on-Avon.

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

Miniature
Painting.

The reign of Elizabeth, though an Augustan age in literature, was not distinguished by any great outburst of talent in the direction either of painting or sculpture. But the first English school of painting dates from that reign. It was a school of miniature, and was destined to have a long life, though never to develop into anything of quite European excellence. Neverthe-



NICHOLAS HILLIARD, BY HIMSELF.

less, the tradition is unbroken from the time of Elizabeth to the time of George IV. ; and Cosway may, not unfairly, be designated as the lineal descendant of Nicholas Hilliard. It may well be doubted whether, prior to the reign of Elizabeth, any artist had devoted himself exclusively to this form of painting. Of course Holbein, Zuccherro, Van Cleef, Van Heere, the Terlings, and others whose names have been mentioned in dealing with the reign of Henry VIII., occasionally painted "portraits in little"; but probably the first miniaturist pure and simple was Nicholas



MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.
(Artist unknown.)



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.
(Artist unknown.)



ROBERT DEVEREUX
EARL OF ESSEX
(Artist unknown.)



SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.
(By Isaac Oliver.)



HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.
(By Isaac Oliver.)

MINIATURES OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD
(Victoria and Albert Museum.)

1584]

Hilliard. He was a Devonshire man of good family, born in 1547, and began life as a goldsmith. He was, to some extent, self-taught, and professed to have modelled himself on Holbein, though, in truth, he seems to have owed more to the old missal painters, whom he resembles both in his opaque colours, in his use of gold to heighten the effect of ornament, and by a certain flatness and absence of shadow. He seems to have been a precocious genius, and to have begun to paint at the age of fourteen. There are miniatures by him of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and of Jane Seymour and her son, though obviously some of these could not have been taken from the life. Queen Elizabeth was frequently painted by Hilliard—old Hilliard, as he is called to distinguish him from his son Lawrence, also a miniature painter. He lived till 1619; and James I. rewarded him in a characteristic manner, by the grant of a monopoly of reproducing the royal image. He found a younger rival, and indeed much more than a rival, in Isaac Oliver, or Olivier. He was apparently of French extraction, as the

notes in his pocket-book, which has been preserved, are partly in that language. He was born in 1556; and his work, as Dr. Propert excellently says, is "second to none in the whole history of miniature art." Isaac Oliver pursued his laborious profession until his death in 1617. He was succeeded by his son Peter, a miniaturist of almost equal excellence, to whom his father bequeathed the refusal of his works "at fye shillings in a pound cheaper than any would pay for them." He enjoyed the favour of Charles I., who employed him to make reduced copies of the masterpieces of the Royal collections. Out of the same school came a long line of miniaturists, including Balthazar Gerbier, knighted by Charles in 1628,

Nicholas
Hilliard.



ISAAC OLIVER, BY HIMSELF.

Isaac
Oliver.

Robert Peake who is known to have received payment from the Council in 1612, Hoskins, and the two Coopers, his nephews, of whom Samuel is, and deserves to be, the best known; but these, though most of them at work in the early part of Charles's reign belong properly to the Commonwealth and the Restoration.

Portrait
Painters.

In the other and higher branches of painting England was less fortunate. The insatiable vanity of the Queen would, no doubt, have given us a richer harvest, had not that vanity been constrained by an equally imperative parsimony. The collection of royal portraits is, however, considerable, though, for the most part, they are the work of second-rate Dutchmen or Italians. "A pale Roman nose, a head loaded with crowns and powdered with diamonds, a vast ruff, a vaster fardingale, and a bushel of pearls, are the features by which everybody knows the pictures of the Queen of England." Walpole's sarcastic description is certainly graphic enough.

Federigo Zuccherò, an Umbrian, is the greatest Italian who painted "her Grace" (p. 527); and Lucas Van Heere, Ketel, Marc Gerhardt of Bruges, and Cornelis Vroom are believed to have had the same honour. But once more we have a list of foreign names, and no considerable native artist seems to have risen to paint the features of a reign prolific above all others in men whose portraits were worth painting.

Coins.

A large importation of coined Spanish gold had been one of the suggestive incidents of the marriage of Philip and Mary, and consequently, on Elizabeth's accession, the usual demand for gold coin was somewhat diminished. But soon after her accession a commission was issued to Sir Edmund Peckham and others for a coinage of sovereigns, angels and angelets, of exceptionally fine



ANGEL OF ELIZABETH, 1558-1578.

gold, representing the values of thirty, ten, and five shillings respectively. At the same time, in the Crown gold (of the ordinary twenty-two carats fineness) there were issued sovereigns (of twenty shillings) and half-sovereigns, crowns and half-crowns, of proportionate value. By proclamation, too, the earlier silver was ordered to be taken at three-fourths of its value—pennies, half-groats, and the rest, except certain testoons, which were excepted on

Currency
Reform.



THREE-HALFPENNY PIECE.

the ground of exceptional inferiority. Subsequently there was an issue of old standard silver, including, besides the ordinary denominations, the three-halfpenny piece, and that most singular coin, the silver three farthings. Most of the base coins were got into the treasury, but not without a good deal of difficulty. There was, in fact, a sort of panic in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, but it was put an end to in a heroic fashion (*cf.* p. 490). In 1561 a final proclamation was issued, lowering the values without decreasing the pureness of the coinage. A list is subjoined:—

Gold		Fine Gold	Sovereign formerly current at 30/- to pass for 20/-.				
			Real	”	15/-	”	15/-.
			Angel	”	10/-	”	6/8.
			Half-angel	”	5/-	”	3/4.
		Crown Gold	Sovereign	”	20/-	”	13/4.
			Half-sovereign	”	10/-	”	6/8.
			Crown	”	5/-	”	3/4.
			Half-crown	”	2/6	”	1/8.



HALF SOVEREIGN OF ELIZABETH.

Silver	{	Shilling to pass for	-/8.
		$\frac{1}{2}$ Shilling " "	-/4.
		$\frac{1}{4}$ Shilling " "	-/2.
		Three Half-penny Pieces-	/1.
		Three Farthing Pieces	-/0 $\frac{1}{2}$.

In addition three groats were to serve as 8d., three half-groats as 4d., and three pennies as 2d.

There were a great many supplementary and later coinages



A SIXPENNY PIECE.

during the long reign of the Queen. Those of Louison, which included angels, angelets, quarter-angels, half and quarter shillings, three-halfpenny and three-farthing pieces, and pennies, were specially notable. The use of private tokens increased

Tokens.

steadily; lead, leather, and base metals of various kinds being employed for the purpose. The abundance of these was so great that an attempt was made to legalise the situation, and in 1576 a licence for their issue was granted to the town of Bristol. A copper coinage was even proposed, and not only received the royal



A SHILLING.

fiat, but dies were prepared for the purpose; yet it appears that no issue was ever made, the existing specimens being supposed to be only patterns. The reform of the coinage was justly

ROBERT
STEELE.
The
Occult
Sciences.

DURING the fifteenth century the fear of the supernatural was slowly drawing round the minds of the people of Western Europe. Hitherto the magic of the people had been of the nature of folklore, reminiscences of pagan worship which had become heresy by the conquest of the Christian faith; but when, in 1398, the Sorbonne published its twenty-seven articles dealing with conjurations, with images of devils, and sorcery, it gave the widest possible advertisement to the crime. We have shown how popular belief in the demoniac compact gradually took shape and grew (Vol. II., p. 112); but it did not loom large in the public mind till in the fifteenth century the accusation of sorcery began to be used as a political weapon, chiefly against women. Thus in 1419, Joan, the Queen Dowager, was committed to prison for sorcery against Henry V., and her associate, Friar John Randolph, taken in Jersey, was sent to the Tower. We have the charges against the Duchess of Gloucester and the Duchess of Bedford, Joan of Arc, and Jane Shore, whom the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely were afterwards accused of assisting. In Scotland, too, the Earl of Mar, brother of James III. (1460-1488), was bled to death by order of the Lords of the Council for magical practices against his brother; and, subsequently, twelve witches and four wizards were burnt to death in Edinburgh for the same crime.

At the end of that century, what has been well called a diabolical nightmare fell on Europe—a nightmare which weighed on our country for over a century. In 1484 Innocent VIII. issued his celebrated bull against the witches of Germany, enumerating the evils they wrought, and appointing inquisitors to put down the scandal. It is difficult to say what the effect of this was—a single inquisitor burns 900 in fifteen years, 500 are burned in one city in three months. The wave of terror did not reach England in any force till near the middle of the century. It shows itself almost simultaneously in England and Scotland by the revival of the old charges of sorcery. This was one of the crimes which fell under the jurisdiction of the King's Council (Vol. II., p. 655), of which few records exist; but we find from them that Cromwell issued a proclamation forbidding it, and Lord Hungerford, in England

1584]

(1540), and Lady Glanmis, sister of the Earl of Angus—a Douglas (1537)—were executed for attempting the lives of their respective monarchs. As Henry grew older, and his thirst for blood grew strong, the fear of witchcraft increased; and in 1541 the first Act against witchcraft (33 Henry VIII., c. 8) was passed, the “tricesimotertio of Henry,” quoted in Ben Jonson’s *Alchemist*. The practices it forbade were the devising and practising invocations to find gold and silver, or to destroy a neighbour’s person or goods; the making images of men, angels, devils, beasts, or fowls; of burying crowns, sceptres, swords, rings, glasses; and of telling where things lost or stolen should be found. The penalty was death, without benefit of clergy. In the same year an Act was passed by the affrighted Parliament making it felony, without clergy, to found any prophecy on badges, or field beasts, fowls, etc., worn in arms (which might bring them into trouble with our lord the king); and on July 1st a Welsh minstrel suffered under the Act.

Legislation
against
Witch-
craft.

In the first Parliament of Edward VI. the Acts of this session were repealed, with few exceptions; but witches were not thereby set free, since the jurisdiction of the ordinary was untouched (1 Edward VI., c. 12). Indeed, in 1549, Cranmer’s visitation directs the clergy to inquire after users of charms, etc., and to present them to the archdeacon. During the reign of Mary the hunt for heretical doctrine was so keen that we have no record of witch burning; but in one of the first sermons preached before Elizabeth in 1558 by Jewell, he took occasion to remark on the widespread sin of sorcery. In 1562 Henry’s law was re-enacted in a more merciful form (5 Elizabeth, c. 16), the first offence being punished by a year’s imprisonment and four exposures in the pillory, a second conviction being felony. It seems that for some time there were few prosecutions under the Act, but in 1575 a witch persecution was begun, though not carried out with the ferocity of that begun and carried on by James. In 1576 two children, and Mildred Norrington, the maid of Westwell, were pilloried. Soon the madness spread. In 1577 a waxen image of Elizabeth was picked up, and Dr. Dee was consulted as to the best means of guarding her Grace; but his measures were ineffectual, for next year she suffered greatly from pains in her teeth, and Dee was again applied to. Such an evident case

of sorcery was not neglected; the ordinaries actively took up the search for witches—witness the fate of Simon Pembroke, who, being observed to be lucky at dice, was summoned before the ordinary at Southwark. But being in the act of passing some money to the proctor, his head sank, and he died; whereupon he was searched, and they found a tin man holding three dice, marked “chance the dice fortunately,” and “five devilish books on conjuration and most abominable practices.” After 1579 the persecution ceased for a time, perhaps discouraged by the publication of Reginald Scot’s “Discoverie of Witchcraft,” a

learned and sensible book, considering the state of popular belief. Almost the only other execution for witchcraft in the reign after this was the famous Warboys case in 1593, when three persons named Samuels were executed for bewitching, in 1590, the five children of the Throgmorton family, with seven servants, Lady Cromwell and others. The story of this case is more fully preserved than usual, since Sir Samuel Cromwell, as lord of the manor, founded an annual sermon on witchcraft to be preached every Lady-Day in Huntingdon by a D.D. or B.D. of Queen’s College, Cambridge, out of the property



PLANETARY SIGNS OF THE SEVEN DAYS.

(Reginald Scot's "Discoverie of Witchcraft," 1584.)

of the felons which escheated to him.

Alchemy.

Our survey of English alchemy in the previous volume brought us up to the end of the fifteenth century, with its evidence of a revival of study in the earlier part of the second half of the century. We know of few alchemists in the early part of the sixteenth. Sir Robert Greene, of Welby (1467–1538), who is spoken of as Comes Palatinus, was a voluminous writer, and Robert Frelove in 1536 makes a copy of Lully's works, which he values at £20. In 1550 he translates Bacon's "Radix Mundi," and seems to have been living

in the Savoy in 1566. The issue of base coin in Henry and Edward's reigns produced the usual result of a plentiful crop of alchemists. Men of all classes joined in the search for riches, from the yeomen of Kent to the treasurer of England. The Queen accepted the dedication of many of the works on alchemy, and perhaps with propriety, for the philosopher's



ALCHEMISTS IN THE LABORATORY.

(Ashmole, "*Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*," 1651.)

stone was, as Jonson says in the *Alchemist*, "a wealth unfit for any private subject"; and the fate prophesied to its owner was no unlikely one—

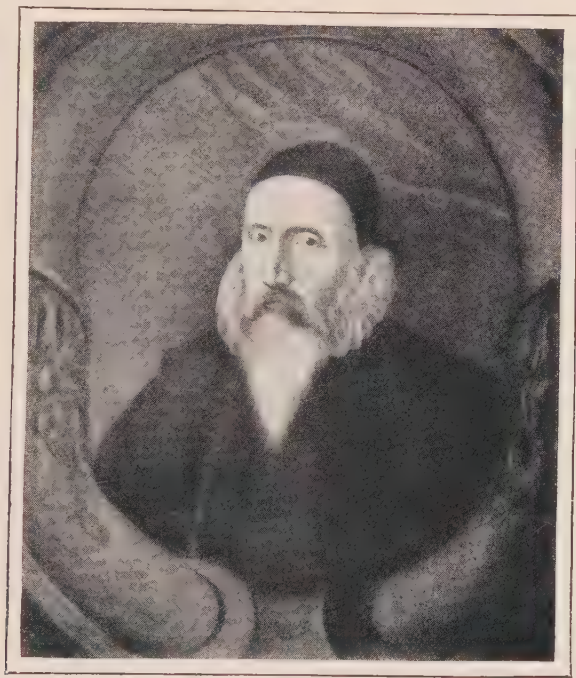
"You may come to end
The remnant of your days in a loathed prison
By speaking of it."

The work of Thomas Charnock gives an interesting account of the way in which he proceeded. The potter makes him some large vessels for furnaces, and he has to tell him for what they are to be used. Then the carpenter makes a stand for them; and, lastly, he has to go to Chiddingfold in Surrey to the glass-blower to get his vessels blown. Lastly, we have an account of his troubles and trials ending up with the neighbouring gentleman who impresses him to serve for the relief of Calais, when he breaks up his furnaces with a hatchet, and marches forth "with a cross upon his back" to serve as a soldier. A note in one of the Sloane MSS. tells that the price of a glass body for a still, *i.e.* a wide-necked flask, was 2s. 6d. for the gallon size, or 1s. 6d. for a potell, at this period. It must be said that some of the alchemists had minor secrets not to be disdained by any women; "water to cleanse and keep bright the skin and flesh, a precious water for purifying and preserving the teeth, etc.," are among the secrets imparted to Queen Elizabeth by one of them, Ralph Rabbard, in 1574. A London haberdasher translates Lully; a Bristol customer forms a manuscript library of alchemy; the "Master of the Engynes" has other translations made for him; the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity resigns his chair to study it more freely—facts like these testify to the widespread interest. In truth, though we cannot yet discern it, the birth of science was at hand.

Paracel-
sus and
Science.

For fifteen years an extraordinary man, Paracelsus (1526–1541), held the attention of Europe. The grossness of his language and his hearty animalism are the things that strike a modern observer most; but in his own time, among the men hit so hard by the "*Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*," neither his language, his gluttony, nor his drunkenness would be so great as to be noticeable. What was extraordinary was his bold revolt against authority, and the application, in some measure, of common sense to medicine. We are chiefly concerned with him here because he gave publicity to a new theory of the chemical elements of bodies. The medieval theory was that metals consisted of mercury and sulphur, the impurities of which made the difference between them, while earths were bodies of a different nature. The theory after Paracelsus seems to have been that all bodies consisted of

mercury, sulphur, and salt, to which was soon added phlegm. The sulphur of the body was the inflammable part of it, the mercury was that which could be sublimed or collected from the smoke, and the salt was the ash or earthy substance left when it was burnt. These are the chemical elements against the theory of which Boyle wrote the "Sceptical Chymist." Another characteristic of Paracelsus was his unbridled imagin-



PORTRAIT OF DR. DEE.

(Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

ation. A whole mythology of elves and salamanders is described in his works. The "homunculus" of Goethe, the flower revived from its burnt ashes of Sir Thomas Browne, the weapon-salve, demogorgon, etc., of other writers, all passed through or sprung from Paracelsus. If he was in one sense a great man, he was in every way a great charlatan.

From his time alchemy became the peculiar property of charlatans and visionaries. Typical examples are found in the

Dee and
Kelly.

famous association of Dee and Kelly. The latter, an almost uneducated man, is first heard of in 1578 as an alchemical writer; in 1580 his ears were clipped for coining base money; in 1582 he became associated with Dee in magic and alchemy, and in 1583 they went abroad. In December 1586, Kelly wrought the projection, and gave away a large number of gold rings on his daughter's marriage; and when, after various adventures, Dee left him and returned to England, Kelly was imprisoned by the Emperor. He was finally killed in endeavouring to escape, 1595. Dee, on the other hand, was the son of a servant of Henry VIII., and became known first as a mathematician, writing of algebra, astronomy, astrology, and geometry. At about the age of forty his attention seems to have been turned towards the Neo-Platonist writers, and he wrote an extraordinary little book called "*Monas Hieroglyphica*" at Antwerp, 1565, addressed to the Emperor Maximilian, on the properties and parts of the alchemical sign for mercury. After visiting this Emperor he returned to England, and had an interview with the Queen early in 1568, in which he imparted to her the great secret contained in that work. He now seems to have engaged in the study of alchemy and of magic. In 1574 he wrote to Burghley, asking leave to search for hidden treasure (which was illegal), and offering to halve any that he found with him. In the same year the Queen visited him to see the spirits in his famous specula (one of which is now in the British Museum). In 1579 he revealed the secret of the elixir to Roger Cooke—a secret which he himself afterwards learnt in 1586 from Kelly. While giving Dee credit for his wide learning, his undoubted ability and zeal, we cannot but accept the conclusion that his excursions to the Continent covered other secrets than alchemical ones; and that he was, in reality, one of Elizabeth's political agents, especially when we remember how the *Steganographia* of Trithemius, a book of magical conjurations, was shown in the eighteenth century to be a manual of cryptograms for the conveyance of secret information.

Astrology.

The connection between astrology and alchemy, always intimate, was never closer than in the period under notice. Norton's poem (*see* Vol. II., p. 520) had given the proper astrological periods for each stage of the "great work," and this work is only named as one of many others because it is

in English; astrology was universally believed in. As time wore on, people began to doubt, first the rules of one or the other master of the art, and then the very foundations of it; till at last the triumph of the Copernican system destroyed the fundamental basis of astrology, leaving it to be driven out of court by the common sense of mankind, though the fulfilled predictions of the Commonwealth astrologers are still appealed to as proofs of the science. Yet even to the present day our language bears token of the belief, and some of the finest passages in Shakespeare and Milton owe their beauty to the cant of the astrologer.

The foundation of an English school of medicine by Linacre, and of the College of Physicians in 1518, tended, if anything, to strengthen the hold of astrology on popular belief. The great Greek physicians were believers in it, making it a first condition of success in medicine that the student should understand astrology. The doctrines of the complexions, humours, and qualities were intimately bound up with the astronomical theories in vogue—so much so that the greatest physician of his day, Jerome Cardan, was also the first astrologer. Called to Scotland in 1552 to cure Cardinal Hamilton, he was tempted to pass through England and give an opinion on the state of the king's health. His account shows plainly that the chief desire among the nobles of the court was to get from the most renowned astrologer of the day some information as to how long Edward would live. Accordingly he calculated his nativity, which stands first of twelve nativities published in full by Cardan. The stars showed a sufficiently long life, with sicknesses at the ages of 23, 34, and 55. But what the stars failed to reveal to him, his own common sense told him, and he hurried away from England. Scarcely had he returned when the news of the king's death reached him; and Cardan, instead of suppressing his predictions, added to them a chapter, "What I thought afterwards about it." When in England, Cardan lodged with Sir John Cheke (p. 280), perhaps the most learned man in England, with whom he may have seen the experiments of Eden the alchemist in the Tower, and where certainly Dr. Dee made his acquaintance, and saw the famous magic ring that Cardan wore.

Astrology
and
Medicine.

THOMAS
WHITTAKER.
The Begin-
nings of
Natural
Science.

NATURAL SCIENCE in England, as in modern Europe generally, can scarcely be said to have been definitely set going till the seventeenth century. Before then everything is tentative. At the close of the Middle Ages, along with or following the humanistic movement, there had been a movement of return to the study of the sciences—mathematical, physical, and biological—that had been carried forward some distance by the ancients, but in the intervening period had made little or no progress. For a century or more nothing had come of the movement in special science beyond a few new observations that were waiting to be organised, and some important theories that had not yet found verification. The philosophers, indeed, in trying to work out new systems, aimed at an explanation of the whole of Nature, and sometimes, by taking up the most promising generalisations, were able to go beyond both ancient and medieval thinkers in their cosmical conceptions. But for this, peculiar insight was needed. New conceptions of the world, such as were involved in the Copernican astronomy, could not yet be forced on reluctant minds by undeniable facts; and not till this has taken place can a scientific theory be regarded as fully proved. In the meantime, the state of things in relation to scientific research was not the same as at the close of antiquity. If there was little more actual knowledge, there had been a long preparatory process, which was soon to produce its effect. In the fourth century men's minds were turning away from science, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they were returning to it.

The Devel-
opment of
Technical
Language.

The dialectical disputes of the Middle Ages had not been altogether wasted. By means of them new precision had at least been given to language; and language of a higher degree of precision was needed to make modern scientific analysis possible. Even before modern languages were used for scientific or philosophical purposes, the Latin that had passed through the hands of the Scholastics could adapt itself to the more analytic turn of modern thought. Other new instruments, both of a symbolic and of a material kind, were awaiting scientific use. The much more convenient system of numerals introduced by the Arabians, from what-

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ever source it came originally, and the beginnings of algebra Aids.
 derived from them, were to be the basis of a more advanced
 mathematics. The mariner's compass—known to have been
 in use in the twelfth century—became the germ of the new
 science of magnetism. And, by the latter part of the six-
 teenth century, constantly renewed attempts to make dis-
 coveries in the realm of external nature had spread abroad
 the conviction that in experiment was to be found the key

rootes, make the more aptly bee wroughte. And to a-
 void the tedious repetition of these wordes: is e-
 qualle to: I will sette as I doe often in wordes use, a
 paire of parallelles, or twelue lines of one lengthe,
 thus: =====, because now 2. thynges, can be more
 equalle. And now make these numbers.

1. 14.ze.—|—15.9=====71.9.
2. 20.ze.———18.9=====102.9.
3. 26.8.—|—10ze=====9.8.—|—10ze.—|—213.9.
4. 19.ze.—|—192.9=====108.—|—1089.—|—19ze
5. 18.ze.—|—24.9.=====8.8.—|—2ze.
6. 348———12ze=====40ze.—|—4809.—|—9.8
1. In the firste there appeareth. 2. numbers, that is
 14.ze.

THE FIRST USE OF THE SIGN OF EQUALITY.

(Recorde, "Whetstone of Wit," 1557.)

to truth of fact. This had been the conviction of Roger Bacon
 long before the times were favourable to it. It was preached
 by Francis Bacon after it had become, among philosophic
 opponents of scholasticism and small bodies of scientific
 investigators, a note of the new time.

For the special period dealt with in this chapter, there is
 little that is striking to relate in the way of new discovery.
 A treatise on algebra, entitled "The Whetstone of Wit," was
 published by Robert Recorde, in 1557. This work is the first in
 which the modern sign of equality is used. In 1576 the dip of
 the magnetic needle was independently discovered by Robert
 Norman, having been observed earlier (1544), but not by an

Fruits
 of the
 Period.

Englishman. Norman, who published a work called "The Newe Attractive" in 1581, was recognised by Gilbert (*see* next chapter) as a precursor.

GEORGE
SAINTSBURY.
The Literature of Education.

NOTHING is more characteristic of the Renaissance in all countries than the intense and diffused interest in education which distinguished it (p. 112). Nor was this interest of the narrow kind, which is too often intended when we speak of education in our own days. The newly recovered treasures of Greek and Latin, indeed, beguiled men to bestow as much attention as possible on them and to introduce others to them; the endeavour to imitate ~~the~~ the perfections of the classics urged them, though for some time in a shamefaced and apologetic manner, to cultivate their own tongues; the increase of communication between different countries for commercial, religious, and political purposes, opened to them the modern literatures and languages; and the universal curiosity of the time by degrees directed itself into the various branches of physical science. But, to do the Renaissance justice, the education with which it chiefly busied itself was a real *paideia*, a real attempt to revive and extend and apply to contemporary circumstances the Greek ideal of the complete culture of a gentleman in bodily and mental exercises, in philosophy, in religion, in statecraft. The famous passage in which, almost for the only time, Rabelais casts aside his mask and mantle of humorous extravagance and portrays the education of a prince as he conceived it, is but the capital and genial exemplar of a vast multitude of similar attempts.

England was by no means behindhand in these generous and not always fantastic speculations and practices. Even before the accession of Elizabeth the two streams of the current—the purely scholastic and the more widely *paideutic*—had been represented by the works of Cheke and Wilson, at Cambridge, for the one, and by such books as Elyot's "Governour," and Hoby's translation of Castiglione's "Courtier" for the other. But the two currents to a great extent met, and were best represented in the famous work and personality of Roger Ascham, whose "Schoolmaster," the best known and perhaps the best example of the whole class, was written, or at least finished, when his royal pupil had been about ten years

on the throne, though it was not printed till 1570, after Ascham's own death.

This was one of the little books which have good fates. It had no extraordinary popularity in its own time, but it was taken up at intervals afterwards by persons of literary influence—by Upton in 1711, by Dr. Johnson sixty years later, by Mr. Mayor and Mr. Arber twenty or thirty years ago—and has thus been constantly kept before the world of readers for the last two centuries. And so it deserved to be. Ascham had, indeed, the great fault of hating poetry and romance, which may be one reason why the generations that immediately succeeded him paid him little attention; but otherwise it has been generally admitted that no better book of pedagogy in the best sense exists in English or, perhaps, in any other language. Its directions for the mere learning of the tongues are very shrewd and sound, but the general spirit of the book, in its hints on the bringing-up of a "yong Ientleman," is better still, and gives the key to much that was good, if not best, in the nature and nurture of the great race that were at school in Ascham's own day.

Ascham's
"School-
master."

No one exactly followed the genial author of "*Toxophilus*" (wherein, long before the "*Schoolmaster*," he had vindicated the rights of bodily education) in his combined advantages of representation of the Court and practice in actual educational work. Florio, indeed, might have had some claims to do so, but the translator of Montaigne, though an exceedingly delightful writer, was, if not a complete Holofernes, undoubtedly something of a coxcomb. Mulcaster, the Headmaster of St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors, whose work has been recently resuscitated by the pious and most jealous care of the late Mr. R. H. Quick, was the chief follower of Ascham in the strictly pedagogic vein during the later years of Elizabeth. But the other side, the larger if also vaguer education, which, as I have said, caught the imagination of the Renaissance, English and other, so strongly, was very widely represented and cultivated. It was represented, indeed, not solely, but mainly, in the first book of Elizabeth's reign which attained to really commanding notoriety, and it may even be said fame—a book which was endlessly imitated, wildly extolled, and after a time fiercely attacked and decried—the celebrated

Lyly's
"Euphues."

"Euphues" of John Lyly, which appeared in 1579, before either Spenser or Sidney had published anything of importance. There is, perhaps, no single book the reading of which is more necessary to anyone who is thoroughly to understand the age of Elizabeth from the literary side than "Euphues"; but there are not many more difficult to read. The merely literary characteristics of it, though they have often been strangely misunderstood, are not hard to sum up. They consist, on the one hand, in endless antithesis; on the other, in an endless abuse of simile, derived partly from classical history and anecdote, partly from the strange natural history of real or imaginary birds, beasts, and fishes, herbs, flowers, and minerals which had gradually possessed the mind of the later middle ages and earlier Renaissance, and which made its mark on science for many a year to come. But the matter is, for the present purpose, more important than the manner. "Euphues" is the work of a man thoroughly acquainted with Oxford (which he describes or addresses sometimes under its own name, more commonly under that of "Athens"), an aspirant to, and soon to become—if, indeed, he was not already—a familiar of the Court, and deeply imbued with the ideal of a sort of educational course, at once affecting body, mind, manners, sentiment, and business. The nearest approach to "Euphues" in all other literature is "Wilhelm Meister," and both the differences and the resemblances are invaluable, because both enlighten us as to the character of the attempt at a cosmopolitan education. Indeed, it may be said that Goethe was the last person who seriously aimed at this, though Lyly was not the first.

"The
Anatomy
of Wit."

The book consists of two parts—"Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit," and "Euphues and his England." The scene of the first is laid at Naples, and the story, in so far as there is any story at all, turns on the caprices of a certain Lucilla, a maiden of great beauty, rank, and fortune, who, after setting the friends Euphues and Philautus at variance by reason of their love for her, is false to both and chooses a fribble named Curio, thereby breaking her father Ferardo's heart and inflicting grinding torments on her two jilted suitors. Although, however, this is what may be called the plot, there is next to no incident to work it out, and great part of the considerable space of

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the section is allotted to an enormous epistle from "Euphues to Philautus," after Lucilla has made fools of both; to a dialogue of the orthodox kind between "Euphues and Atheos," whom he converts, and to an episode between the two called "Euphues and his Ephæbus" (see *infra*), which contains a complete theory of education, and is thought by some to be the kernel and most important part of the whole work. It contains both the plan and the eulogy—a little vague and rhetorical, but decidedly sound on the whole—of an education directed not more to good learning than to good living; partly of a rather sharp reprobation of the actual state of "Athens." The first part ends with divers letters of Euphues, referring, among other things, to the death of Lucilla in poverty and shame.

The second transports the scene openly and *nominatim* to England, which Euphues and Philautus visit together. They land authentically at Dover, and see Canterbury; but it is always irksome to Lyly to be on firm ground long, and he promptly leads them off into cloudland at the house of a certain Fidus, once a courtier, now a bee-keeper, who morals them many old tales, notably that, a rather graceful one, of his own ill-starred love long ago for a certain Iffida. At last they reach London and the Court; and Philautus the susceptible, falling in love, consults Psellus, an Italian magician, but gets little good of him or of direct addresses to Camilla, his idol. But he is a little consoled by an obliging Lady Flavia, who offers him her niece Frances to be "his violet" while he is in England. All this time—and it is a very long time—we hear little or nothing of Euphues except that he is hard at study, having, indeed, quarrelled again with Philautus in the beginning of the latter's suit to Camilla. In his forsaken condition, however, Philautus abases himself, and with some difficulty succeeds in appeasing his friend, whereafter the main book ends with a supper given by Lady Flavia to most of the characters, and very fruitful of conversation. In a sort of appendix Philautus, more and more drawn towards his "violet" Frances, first prolongs his stay and then settles in England; while Euphues, after a set of letters, the longest of which is a panegyric on the ladies of England, on Burleigh, and above all on Elizabeth, announces his departure to meditate at the

"Euphues
and his
England."

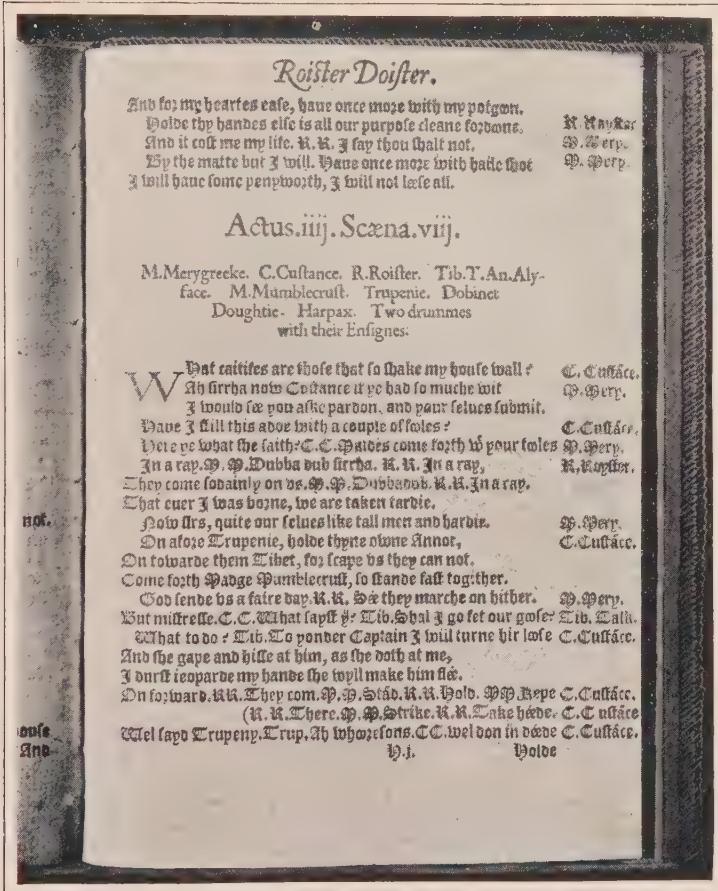
bottom of the mountain Silexsedra, in which not over cheerful locality we leave him.

This brief abstract seemed exceptionally well worth making because of the extremely small number of persons who read "Euphues," and because of the epoch-marking, if not epoch-making, character of the book. Much of it is no doubt taken bodily from the classics—it has been pointed out that "Euphues and his Ephœbus" is little more than "Plutarch on Education" with some omissions, additions, and alterations. But as a whole it could hardly have been written at any other time than one in which the whole of life, and not merely youth, politics, and love-making as well as book-learning, the Court and camp as well as the university, were regarded as parts and scenes of education. A view with faults and drawbacks, doubtless, but infinitely preferable to the view in virtue of which almost the whole of our modern legislation and practice on the subject is constructed.

GEORGE
SAINTSBURY.
The Early
Elizabethan
Drama.

It has been constantly observed by judicious literary historians, and yet it is a thing probably in need of still more constant inculcation, that the "Elizabethan" age of our literature belongs almost wholly to the last half, and, in all its most effectual and characteristic manifestations, to the last quarter of the great Queen's reign. She had been on the throne for more than twenty years when the earliest work of Lyly, Spenser, Sidney, and others gave what was itself but a foretaste of the future glories of her time, in non-dramatic literature; while several more were to elapse before what is itself a sort of *lever de rideau* to the great dramatic work of her era—the theatre of the "University wits"—was to appear. Yet there is no doubt that the thirty years which passed between the probable appearance of *Ralph Roister Doister* and the certain appearance of Peele's *Arraignement of Paris* were marked by a great deal of dramatic production of various kinds, and by a growing taste for dramatic performances in the people, which was certain to attract more and more writers to the profession of dramatist. We have some results of this; and it is absolutely certain that a great deal more has perished—partly because it was not worth preserving, partly because

of difficulties with the censorship, or of the unwillingness of men who had reached a certain position in Church or State to preserve work which was looked on askance, partly also because it was the obvious interest of the actors to keep a



PAGE FROM "RALPH ROISTER DOISTER."

(From the unique volume in Eton College Library, by permission of the Provost.)

successful play unprinted as long as possible; while, when it ceased to be successful, nobody cared to print it.

Thus, to give one example only, we know that Stephen Gosson, afterwards (but no later than the very beginning of

the great dramatic period) the vehement opponent of stage-plays, had both written and, it seems, acted in them before he changed his views. But we have nothing save the names of the plays which he wrote, and not even the names of the plays in which he acted.

Conspicuous
Examples.

The loss of so much writing, which probably or certainly existed, is not in this, as it is in some other cases, a matter over which we need make much moan. For we have sufficient if not abundant examples in actual preservation; and these examples are not of a kind to make us long vehemently for more. Three famous pieces—*Ralph Roister Doister*, of uncertain date, but not probably much younger than Mary's reign at the latest, by Nicholas Udall, head-master of St. Paul's and Eton; *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, assigned to Still, afterwards bishop, which may be ten or a dozen years younger; and the tragedy of *Gorboduc*, by Norton and Sackville the poet, which was certainly first acted in 1561 (under the title of *Ferrex and Porrex*)—are the three traditional and, beyond all question, the three capital plays of this period. Around and under them may be grouped at least a dozen others, which are easily accessible in the latest edition of "Dodsley," a few more which have not been collected, and perhaps a very few others yet which are only in MSS. The intrinsic interest even of the best is but small. *Ralph Roister Doister* is amusing and not offensive. *Gammer Gurton* is more questionable and less amusing. *Gorboduc* is an everlasting example of meritorious but mistaken attempt at something which most emphatically (like a later play) "will not doe." But it is in the lines which these plays follow, in the paths of adventure and exploration (often ending in mere bafflement and squirrel-track nothingness) which they pursue, in the vehicles and mediums with which they experiment, that their real interest lies. The "high-sniffing" critic—who demands only the best and principal things, who has no interest in literary history and morphology—will and can make nothing of them; those to whom even the best thing produced is better if they are enabled to understand its origin, to whom the greatest single exploit of literature is not so fascinating as that marvellous map of the ever-varying and never-changing human mind which all literature presents, may find them very interesting indeed.

The two chief points on which this interest centres are: first, the dramatic style of these experimental plays, and, secondly, the metrical mediums which they adopt. In the former respect, it is especially necessary to remember the models and examples which their authors had before them. The Middle Ages and the earliest Renaissance produced no tragedy proper, though the miracles and mysteries approached

The Structure of Tragedy.

By others harmes, and turne it to his good.
But woe to him that fearing not to offend,
Doth serue his lust, and will not see the end.

¶ The Order and signification of the dumbe
shewe before the fift Acte.

¶ First the Drummes and Fluites began to founde, dving which there came forth vppon the Stage a companie of Harquebushers and of armed men all in order of battaile. These after their peeces discharged, and that the armed men had three times marched about the Stage, departed, and then the Drummes and Fluites did cease. Heereby was signified Tumultes, Rebellions, Armes, and ciuill warres to followe, as fell in the Realme of great Britayne, which by the space of fiftie yeares and more continued in ciuill warre betweene the Nobilitie after the death of King *Gorboduc*, and of his Issues, for want of certaine limitation in the succession of the Crowne, till the time of *Dunwallo Molmutius*, who reduced the Land to Monarchie.

Actus quintus. Scena prima.
Clotyn. Mandud, Gwenard, Fergus. Eubulus.

D In euer age bring forth such tyrants harts.
The brother hath bereft the brothers life,
The mother she hath dyde her cruell hands

PASSAGE FROM "GORBODUC," 1590.

the character of sacred tragedies; and the "profane mysteries," as they are called, which were written in France to some extent during the fifteenth century, were a kind of ancestor to the chronicle play. Even the revived attention to Greek did not concentrate itself very specially on the Greek tragedians; while of Latin tragedy they had, even as we have, nothing at all save the singular group attributed to L. Annæus Seneca. On this, in the absence of other models, the attention of those who wished in the ordinary Renaissance way to enrich the vernacular by attempts in

every classical style was therefore necessarily concentrated; and imitations of the Senecan tragedy were very early written in Italian and French. The first English imitation was the above-named *Gorboduc*. Here we have the regular division, the arrangement—as far as the author can—of plot and action according to the Horatian canons, the chorus, the stately blank verse, and so forth. Nothing of all this was to stand in the English tragedy of the future except the blank verse, though a few attempts continued to be made from time to time in the regular form; though it has been contended—with some exaggeration, but also perhaps with some truth—that the predilection of Seneca for grisly incidents and ghostly personages, for language inflated to the bombastic and gloomed to the dismal, influenced the Elizabethan playwrights to a far greater extent than the formal accidents of his scheme.

Comedy.

Comedy has at all times and among all peoples been a much freer kind than tragedy: first, because it is a more natural and universal form of diversion; secondly, because the laughing faculty absolutely declines to answer except to real tickling, while pity, admiration, and terror on the stage are very much matters of convention and education. Moreover, the models here were much more numerous. Though Terence, was certainly not without his influence (which is apparent even in *Ralph Roister Doister* itself), he did not reign alone like Seneca. Farces, drolls, moralities, interludes, and the almost invariable comic episodes of the mysteries themselves had for a long, though a not very definitely measurable, time already engaged the attention of the people, and must now necessarily divide that of the playwright. Long after our present time, in the early work of Shakespeare, we find two striking instances of the two streams of influence, in the mainly classical study of the *Comedy of Errors* and the purely romantic material and manner of *Love's Labour's Lost*. And this latter preserves what is perhaps the only example at all familiar to the average English reader of the various metres—some of them things for which metre is too dignified a name—which were on the stage, till the decasyllable, with the occasional aid of prose, drove all of them off. The earliest comic medium in our period was the singular swinging doggerel—showing very considerable remnants of the old alliteration,



MARRIAGE FEAST OF SIR HENRY UNTON.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

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cut into lines of different lengths and formed on a basis of more or less anapæstic rhythm—which meets us in both the two early comedies cited, which appears in most of their successors, and which lasted, as has been said, well into the Shakesperian age. The “fourteener” or what used to be inexactly called the “major Alexandrine”—a seven-foot verse which breaks up at pleasure into eights and sixes—was also tried; it was indeed the favourite verse-of-all-work for the first twenty or five-and-twenty years of Elizabeth’s reign. And there was an equal independence of experiment in rhyming or leaving rhyme alone. In fact, the single word “experiment” practically sums up the performance, the character, and the value of the dramatic work of this time. Very frequently it was more or less learned work, produced almost as part of academic exercise, and certainly as part of academic and scholastic recreation; for Renaissance teachers, according to an idea long cherished by the Jesuits, held dramatic performances to be no mean instrument of education. Sometimes it was intended as part of the pageants and festivities given by the great men of the time, whose habit of maintaining troupes of players was one of the chief fosterers of our early theatre. Sometimes it was neither more nor less than a bread-winning industry, aiming at the supply of a demand made by people at large. But it was always experimental, and it never once in this period got much beyond experiment.

HARDLY the most careless observer, if he takes account of the dates and names of Elizabethan literature, can fail to note, as has been noted already, the extreme difference of the production of the first and the last half, respectively, of her long and glorious reign. It would be a rash, as well as an inadequate antithesis, to say that the one is all promise and the other all performance; for to the first half, with certainly notable exceptions, chiefly at its extreme end, it would hardly be too churlish to deny any great promise, except of the most ambiguous kind. Of the poets who wrote before 1579 it is vain to attempt to rank one, with the single exception of Sackville, among those poets who, without counting in historical attractions, attain anything like the first or a high second rank.

**GEORGE
SAINTSBURY.**
Earlier
Elizabethan
Poetry.

It is quite true that, looking back on what actually followed, we see that in this long period of twenty or thirty years the ground was being worked and prepared, the manure spread, even to a certain extent the seed sown, which was to produce a magnificent crop of the later time. But few students of literature, whose studies have taken a pretty wide range, will deny that all this care and pains, all these (as the retrospective fancy or fallacy allows or induces us to consider them) favourable circumstances, all this seed-sowing, and manuring and digging, might have resulted in little or nothing. Fortunately for us, the results here were great and wonderful; and, while guarding ourselves as much as possible from the said retrospective fallacy, it is easy to discover, while it should not be too difficult to avoid laying undue stress on, the circumstances and processes which, if they did not actually cause, accompanied, and if they did not directly stimulate, certainly did not injure the new growth.

An Inter-
mission
and its
Causes.

It may seem a little strange that the poetic spirit which at once discovered itself and indicated the forms and mediums proper to it in "Tottel's Miscellany," representing a period of composition much older than its date, should have taken a full generation before finding, except in the solitary and rather abnormal instance just referred to, anything like full and free expression. Wyatt died nearly forty, Surrey more than thirty, years before Spenser and Sidney and Watson appeared. Perhaps not the worst school of criticism (though it is a school which seems at once cynical and jejune to ardent believers in the possibility of finding out everything) would say that no further explanation of this can be given, and that no further explanation of it need be required, except the bare fact that no poet of the first class happened to be born at such a time as to come in during these years. We can, however, soften the harshness and adorn the barrenness of this severe literary agnosticism by indicating certain secondary causes which may have helped in producing the actual result. The political and religious troubles of the later part of Henry VIII.'s reign and the whole of his son's and his elder daughter's, were not of that kind which stimulates literary composition. The ferment of mind which starts a revolutionary era is, indeed, very favourable to literature, but not the actual time of

revolutionary action. A man who is divided between very genuine trouble about his soul, and still more genuine uncertainty about his neck, may sometimes produce stirring prose and verse, but will hardly have time or taste for the working out of elaborate literary problems, or for the production of



GASCOIGNE PRESENTING ONE OF HIS WORKS TO QUEEN
ELIZABETH (MS. Roy. 18 A. xlviii.).

that pure literature which always keeps more or less aloof from storm and stress. In the second place, the interesting spirit of inquisitive exercise which the new learning had instilled or helped to develop in men's minds was, however promising for the future and helpful to after-comers, not exactly the spirit to produce masterpieces. It is no mean feat, indeed, to rank in history as George Gascoigne ranks, with

Gascoigne. fair documentary evidence to prove his title, as the actual first practitioner in English of comedy in prose, satire in regular verse, short prose tales, translated tragedy and literary animadversion. But the above-mentioned student of literature as a whole, or as nearly as may be in its wholeness, would be rather surprised if he found a clever, enterprising, industrious innovator of this kind rising at once to mastery in his innovations. The most brilliant pioneers and leaders of cavalry raids are not generally the generals who win epoch-making battles, or hold down the country they have scoured. And in this particular Gascoigne, who is, perhaps, the most notable and characteristic figure of our earlier period, of which his manhood covers the greater part, is no exception. A diligent and scholarly American student of Elizabethan literature, Professor Felix Schelling of Philadelphia, some years ago made a valiant attempt to vindicate for Gascoigne a higher place than historians have generally given him; but it will not do. He is, indeed, a most typical figure, and, from the point of view of this present book, almost more useful for our purpose than if he had been a master. Few men — perhaps none, with the exception of his greater and younger friend Raleigh—so well realised that ideal of varied adventurous life, now in the study, now in affairs of camp and court, which we rather freely attribute by generalisation to Elizabeth's men. He was a gentleman of good family. He was educated at Cambridge certainly, and, not impossibly, like so many other men of the time, at Oxford also. He was a member of one Inn of Court, perhaps of two. He sat in at least two Parliaments for Bedfordshire; he was at least charged with being a roisterer and loose liver; he was certainly a courtier. He is accused (and is thought by the sleuth-hounds of somewhat fantastic name-analogies to have boasted) of *liaisons* with great ladies. He was a soldier, and saw no little service in the Low Countries. He danced and spoke as a "Salvage man" at Kenilworth before the Queen. He may have returned to the Netherlands and been present at the sack of Antwerp. And then he died, having during these twenty years of busy life produced a great deal of prose and of verse, including the experiments above mentioned, and much else. His work is never exactly despicable; as a critic of the day

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immediately succeeding his own said, with, perhaps, a trifle less of sarcastic intention than if the words had been used now, but still certainly with some, it "may be endured." In some respects, too, it would be unfair to leave it with this very faint praise. The blank verse, of which Gascoigne was but the fourth or fifth practitioner in English, is not without merit; his prose is spirited and vigorous, if not elegant; and in his lyrics there is not seldom a touch of that unforced and childlike pathos which is the best point of these earlier Elizabethans, and which in the later and greater school, is rather hushed by higher notes, except in the case of some of the lesser men, such as Gascoigne's step-son, Nicholas Breton. On the other hand, his metres are still alternately limp and wooden, his style is still stiffened with the old clumsy alliteration; there is no fire or splendour in his poetry, his prose has neither continuity nor gorgeousness. He is merely a clever man living an active life in times of both material and mental activity, but with nothing very particular to say and no very exquisite manner of saying it.

Noting, as a point to be taken up presently, that the weak spot in Gascoigne is not least evident in the fact that three of his so-called original experiments were translations, we may glance at the minor poets, among whom he, for want of a better, was major. They were all tarred with much the same brush. There was Thomas Churchyard, a sort of "moon" of Gascoigne, who resembled him in life and character of work, but was of a more regular temper, and perhaps for that reason, after having contributed to "Tottel," lived into James I.'s reign, while Gascoigne died in early middle age. There were George Turberville and Barnaby Googe, who are generally mentioned together, having been friends, contemporaries, and writers of not very dissimilar work. Turberville was particularly notable for the plaintive, cushat-like note above referred to. There were Edwards, Roydon, Hunnis, and many others, besides the translators pure and simple, many of whom gravitated towards the poetical miscellanies which, after the example of "Tottel," became specially fashionable towards the close of our present period, and in some cases (such as the "Paradise of Dainty Devices," and the "Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions") considerably anticipated that close; but

His
Minor
Contem-
poraries.

the character of all this work is either immature or pedantic—generally both at once.

Sackville.

Among them towers—at no mean height, even when compared with greater poets, and a very Atlas among his own contemporaries—the solitary, and in more than number, singular figure of Thomas Sackville, afterwards Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset, author of *Gorboduc*, the “Induction” to the “Mirror for Magistrates,” and the “Complaint of Buckingham” in the same work. *Gorboduc* is spoken of elsewhere, and except as a literary *point de repère* is not of much interest. Very different are the two contributions to the “Mirror for Magistrates”—a great poetical miscellany or cyclopædia in verse, describing for the most part the misfortunes of princes and statesmen, which first appeared in 1563, and which was frequently republished with additions. Sackville himself was born in 1536, at the place from which he took his first title in Sussex, belonged to both Universities and to the Inner Temple, saw the Continent of Europe, and during all his later life occupied a position in the State such as befitted a man of the most ancient family, of ample means, of unblemished character, and of very unusual ability. His literature was the work of his youth, and the contributions to the “Mirror” were written when he was but three-and-twenty, full twenty years before Spenser startled the great age with the “Shepherd’s Calendar.” They were not bulky, the two containing not much more than a thousand lines in the old seven-lined stanza *ababbcc*, and the subject, even to a certain extent the treatment, exhibit far less striving after novelty than was customary with Sackville’s contemporaries. A careless reader merely looking at the cast of the stanzas might see no great difference from the half allegoric style of the fifteenth century as practised from Chaucer to Hawes. But if any one of these stanzas caught his attention enough to make him cease to be careless, and if he had some knowledge and some love of poetry, he would very soon discover that here was such power as no one had shown since Chaucer himself, together with a marked alteration of tone. For although Chaucer can deal with doleful subjects, and deal with them as satisfactorily as genius always does deal with everything, it is notorious that he is in the main a thoroughly cheerful poet. Sackville is

penetrated with that deep melancholy of the Renaissance, which haunted and dogged all its grandiose schemes, its intellectual alertness, its confidence in learning and in action. The singular gloom, not dull but intense, which hangs over the "Induction" especially, with its famous prosopopœia of sorrow, is no young man's fancy of sitting on a stool and



THOMAS SACKVILLE, EARL OF DORSET.

(Bodleian Library, Oxford).

being melancholy of malice prepense, no caprice of literature, no trick of the time, no mere craftsman's adaptation of style to subject. It is a darkness that is felt by the reader, because the writer felt it. And it has reflected itself in the metre and style after a fashion only paralleled in literature by men who are usually ranked far higher than Sackville is. A few of the characteristics are, no doubt, old and borrowed, especially the alliteration, the use of which is still excessive at times. But this is as nothing compared to the rich stream of melancholy

music—never heard in English before, and not to be heard again till Spenser (it may almost be said) echoed it—which pours through the piece, silvering the “brown air” of its *Inferno* with strange light, as well as filling it with unwonted harmony.

Trans-
lators.

No fear of meeting anything strange in the same sense (though otherwise there is not a little strangeness in them) need be felt in regard of the group of translators more than once referred to. Yet they did a good work. The insatiable curiosity of the Renaissance, together with what may be called the most distinct and characteristic of its many ruling ideas—the notion that it was the duty of every good citizen of a modern country to acclimatise as much as possible the achievements not merely of the ancients but of other modern countries for the benefit of his own countrymen—worked in England almost more strongly than anywhere else, as, indeed, it was certain to do in the case of the most isolated of European states. The great translators of the Elizabethan age, indeed, North, Florio, Philemon Holland, belong not to this time; but a crowd of inferior yet well-deserving persons adorn or, at least, fill it. The most influential of the whole band upon poets and poetry were Arthur Golding, who turned Ovid’s “*Metamorphoses*” into English, and Thomas Phaer, who did the same service to Virgil, using the tremendous measure of fourteen syllables, which was on the whole the favourite measure of the time. The tragedies of Seneca, the immense influence of which, both direct and indirect, is referred to elsewhere, were Englished by Jasper Heywood and others within the present period; and a large number of other classics both in verse and prose underwent the same process at different hands. Nor were the classics by any means exclusively favoured. Googe, the poet mentioned above, was a diligent translator, and the extent and variety of his exercises in this kind may serve as a sample of the accomplishment of a large number of his contemporaries. He is said to have turned Aristotle’s *Categories* (whether from the original or a Latin version) into English; and it is positively known that he did the same for the anti-Popish satires of two moderns, *Palingenius* (probably *Manzoli*) and *Naogeorgus* (certainly *Kirchmayer*). He also translated the Latin “*Five Books of Husbandry*” of Conrad

From the
Classics.

1584]

Heresbach, and the "Spanish Proverbs" of Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana. Most of these books went through several editions in his lifetime, showing the remarkable demand there was for such things. Less attention was paid to German (which, indeed, was only beginning to possess a vernacular literature, though the Elizabethan translators gave their full share of attention to German Neo-Latinists), and, which is rather surprising, very little to French. It ought, however, to be remembered that the literary movement of the French Renaissance, though a little was not much anterior to that part of Elizabethan literature which we are now discussing, that Joachim du Bellay, whom some think the greatest of the Pléiade, early attracted the attention of Spenser, and that the remarks of E. K. on the "Shepherd's Calendar" as to Marot, the references to Rabelais in Nash, and other things show no lack of consciousness of what French had to give.

From
German
and
French.

As for Italian, the number of actual translations from it, though that is not inconsiderable, gives no idea of the overpowering influence which the language and literature of Italy held on the wits, the intellect, the fashions of the day. It was vain for Ascham and others after him to thunder against "Italianate" Englishmen; the charm was too great. By the greatest of Italian writers, indeed, it was exercised but little; this was not Dante's day. But Petrarch, Ariosto, and, when he wrote, Tasso, with innumerable underlings, rode sovereign; and Italian measures, Italian thought, tags of Italian phrase were in all men's memories and mouths.

From
Italian.

This busy research and exercise had been going on for at least twenty years, and Elizabeth had been for more than that space of time on the throne before the real and unmistakable first-fruits of a new literature appeared. It has always been noted that wits jump together on these occasions in a very strange fashion, and at least a quartet of such wits, dissimilar in magnitude but all eminently of their time, appeared in the years 1579-1582. These four were John Lyly, Edmund Spenser, Philip Sidney, and Thomas Watson.

The
Literary
Revival,
1579-1582.

With Lyly we are not immediately busied, for his main achievement at this period was in prose, and has been already handled. But it is not immaterial that he contributed an introductory epistle to the "Hecatopathia," Thomas Watson's

main work. Indeed, the reproach of "mutual admiration," which is rife at all times, and is generally brought by those who fail of admiration, mutual or other, applies nowhere more than to Elizabeth's men, who were for the most part either each other's dear friends or each other's deadly enemies. Lyly and Watson were both Oxford men, as indeed was Sidney. But the latter—whether from the fact of his bosom friend and schoolmate at Shrewsbury, Fulke Greville, having gone to Cambridge or not—seems to have drawn his chief literary associates from the University which was not his own; and the "Areopagus," as the Sidneian clique was called, consisted chiefly of Cambridge men, with the famous Gabriel Harvey—a prig and a pedant, but not exactly a fool—at their head, and with the addition of distinguished foreigners, like Giordano Bruno. But Watson also knew Sidney, and Sidney's sister, to whom his "Amyntas" was in a posthumous edition dedicated, as the dedication asserts, by his own request

Sidney
and
Spenser.

Of Watson as of Lyly, we know very little personally; our knowledge of Sidney and Spenser is fortunately fuller; and from the letters exchanged between the latter and Gabriel Harvey, from the curious dispute over Gosson's "School of Abuse" (which, though not avowedly, produced Sidney's own "Apology for Poetry" as a counter-blast), and from a great number of scattered references in different works of the time, we can, without too dangerous an admixture of the purely conjectural, perceive that the literary hive was really swarming in those days, the last of the eighth decade of the century. Over the latter half of that decade Sidney's "Astrophel and Stella" poems, even if we hesitate to adopt the very confident guesses which have been made about them, must have been scattered in point of date of composition; and it is thought that the "Arcadia" was written about 1580, as the "Apology for Poetry" certainly was next year. Watson's "Hecatompethia" was licensed in March, 1582, while Spenser, who was born in 1552, and whose earliest known work appears in a publication which is a literary puzzle, in 1569, produced the "Shepherd's Calendar" ten years later, and by it at once leapt to the very head of English poetry.

Yet Spenser's achievement in the "Calendar" was as



SIR PHILIP SIDNEY AND HIS BROTHER LORD LISLE.

(From the painting at Penshurst, by permission of the Rt. Hon. Lord de l'Isle and Dudley.)

nothing to what he was soon to accomplish. The sonnets of the "Hecatompethia," though manifesting much grace, a real if not commanding passion, and a complete eschewing of the clumsy and inartistic metres of older contemporaries, are somewhat thin and pale; and there are some who have ranked Sidney even below Watson. This last, however, is heresy, and bad heresy. In the best things of "Astrophel and Stella" there is a combination of poetical feeling with poetical expression which we shall certainly not find in any earlier writer of the reign, and which, in so far as the "Shepherd's Calendar" goes, we shall not find in Spenser himself. And in all these

Februarie.



THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR: FEBRUARY.

three writers we shall find a difference—at once perceptible, though not extremely easy to formulate in brief words—from all their predecessors. If they do not excel Sackville—and I do not know that they do, though one of them was to go far beyond him before long—in distinct and intense poetical quality, they have outgrown the archaism of his instrument and the narrowness, albeit novelty, of his tone. Between them and all the persons yet mentioned, many of whom were still writing and to write for years, there is a great gulf set. The poets, of whom Gascoigne was the most versatile and the deftest, speak a poetic language which is utterly immature; they babble and stammer, and at best "croon." Sidney and Spenser, with Watson not far below them, sing.

Yet it is noteworthy, and is, perhaps, the most noteworthy

thing about this first phase of the great phenomenon, that they were all of them for the most part doing what they did not only half unconsciously, but more than half against their own intention and desire. The strange fancy for classical metres—which books about Spenser and Kingsley's "Westward Ho!" have made known to many who, perhaps, never opened the "Four Letters," or read a line at first hand of Daniel's admirable "Defence"—was very far indeed from being the only craze of the kind which possessed the eager students of the Areopagus and their admirers and echoes in both universities, in the Inns of Court and elsewhere. It was the

Their At-
tempts at
Classicism.

November.



THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR: NOVEMBER.

dream of this English school, as it had been twenty years earlier of the French *Pléiade*, to adjust vernacular literature in all things as nearly as possible to ancient, or if to modern to Italian models. We think, for instance, and think rightly, of Sidney himself as of a very front-fighter in the ranks of the Elizabethans in the English romantic army. So he is, in so far as his practice and unconscious influence went. But read his "Defence of" or "Apology for Poetry" (it bears both names), and anybody not previously acquainted with the state of the case will wonder whether the book has been "changed at nurse." Sidney, it is true, defends the English stage and English imaginative literature generally, against the half-Platonic, half-Puritan onslaughts of Gosson and others. But the kind of literature, dramatic and other, which he

vindicates and hopes for, is quite other than that which actually followed. It is a literature of pseudo-classical regularity, not unlike that which France actually achieved in the next century and preserved till far into this.

This mistake, however, was so natural a consequence of the studies and aims which have occupied us throughout this section, that it can hardly be necessary to add anything in explanation of it. Nor is there room remaining to take more than a glance at some other peculiarities of this school of 1580—such as the still subsisting combination of the older measures and the new in the “*Shepherd’s Calendar*,” as the admixture of sharp political and personal satire with the fantastic pastoralties of the style, as the somewhat undisciplined and, indeed, never finally edited, medley of the “*Arcadia*,” and as the intensely literary and personal character of the “*Hecatompethia*.” As far as we can tell, Sidney’s sonnets were the earliest and deciding force which animated, not merely the two other poets named, but a host of others unnamed. It is one of the most singular things about this very artificial and now very ancient form, that it from time to time, and apparently with undiminished power, renews its hold on the poetic fancy, not merely of individuals, but of whole classes—almost of whole nations. For twenty years and more, though poetry was written in a vast number of forms, the sonnet held sway as much in one way as the drama did in another. It was the Elizabethan short poem; and that it was so was perhaps due, as far as it was due to one man, to Philip Sidney.

R. E.
PROTHERO.
The Trans-
formation
of the
Land.

WE have seen how, with the close of the Wars of the Roses and the dawn of the Tudor period, an agricultural revolution began, which continued in progress till the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, and after more than two centuries of quiescence, recommenced in the eighteenth century. This revolution was part of the general movement, which gradually transformed the country. It may be described as the introduction of the commercial spirit into national life. In agriculture, the commercial spirit took the direction of enclosures—the break-up, that is, of medieval agrarian partnerships, the appropriation of commons by individual,

owners, the substitution of individual enterprise for the united venture of village-farms. Both in the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries this was the direction which the revolution assumed. But in details the earlier and the later movements widely differed. Under the Tudors the agricultural revolution was accompanied by the substitution of pasture for tillage, of sheep for corn, of wool for beef and mutton. Under the Hanoverian sovereigns, the British farmer no longer took his seat on the woolsack, but devoted himself instead to the production of bread and beef for the teeming populations of manufacturing cities. The different directions which in details the revolution assumed at the two periods is mainly due to the improvements in agricultural practices which the Hanoverian farmer commanded. The Tudor husbandman might devote himself exclusively to one or other of the two known branches of farming; but his change from tillage to pasture involved no improvement in his practices, no introduction of new crops, no economy in the cost nor increase in the amount of production.

A His-
torical
Parallel.

The period which began with the close of the Wars of the Roses and ended with the defeat of the Spanish Armada was one of transition from the medieval to the modern form of landownership. Feudalism was dead or dying, and trade was usurping its throne. In the hands of lords of the manor, the soil had been required to furnish, not money, but men-at-arms. Medieval barons valued their estates chiefly for the number of retainers which they sent to their banners. Tudor landlords estimated their worth by the amount of rent which they paid into their coffers. Medieval farmers extracted from the soil only so much food as they required for the sustenance of themselves and their families. Modern tenants were not satisfied with this self-sufficing industry; they desired to raise from the land not only food, but profit. As trade increased, and towns grew, and English wool made its way into Continental cities, or was woven into cloth by English weavers (p. 501), new markets were created for agricultural produce. Fresh incentives were supplied to individual enterprise, and both landlords and tenants learned to regard their land from the commercial point of view.

An Age
of Transi-
tion.

The results of this infusion into agriculture of the

commercial spirit were, as has been already noticed, twofold : first, the break-up of the old agrarian partnerships, in which lords of the manor, parsons, yeomen, farmers, copyholders, and labourers were associated for the supply of the wants of the villages ; and, secondly, the substitution of pasture for tillage, and of sheep for corn.

Consolidation.

If money was to be made out of the land, it was plain that only individual enterprise could make it. Under the old system, it was open to the idleness of one man to cripple the energy of fifty others. To exchange, divide, enclose, and so consolidate the holdings, became the object of the rural aristocracy. As Fuller says in his "Holy State":—"The poor man who is monarch of but one enclosed acre will receive more profit from it than from his share of many acres in common with others." Sometimes the commons were equally divided ; sometimes the landlords bought up the whole ; sometimes they enclosed them by force, or by connivance with the principal commoners. Voluntary agreements between commoners and proprietors of land were not infrequent, and bargains were often struck on equitable terms, based on a valuation and commutation of commoners' rights. But it was a rough age, in which might was right ; and Sir Thomas More presents us with another side of the picture. He speaks of "husbandmen thrust out of their own, or else by covin and fraud, or by violent oppression, put beside it, or by wrongs and injuries so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all."

A striking example of More's first statement may be quoted from the lives of the Berkeleys. Maurice, the second earl, had a wood called Whiteclive Wood, which "hee fancieth to reduce into a park." He treated with his tenants and the freeholders for the sale or exchange of their land, and with the commoners for their rights of common.

"After some labour spent, and not prevailinge to such effect as hee aymed at, he remembered (as it seemeth) the Adage, '*multa non laudantur, nisi prius peracta*,' 'many actions are not praiseworthy till they bee done.' He, therefore, on a sodain, resolutely encloseth soe much of each man's land unto his sayd wood as he desired ; maketh it a parke, placeth keepers, and storeth it with deere. And called it, as to this day it is, Whitelyve Park.

"They, seeing what was done, and this lord offeringe compositions and exchanges as before, most of them soone agreed, when there was noe

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remedy. And hee soone after had theire grants and releases of land and common as hee at first desired. *Ungentem pungit, pungentem rusticus ungit.* It is not for a lord too long to make curtesy to the clowted shoe. Those fewe that remayned obstinate, fell after upon his sonne with suites to their small comfort and less gaines."

If a small copyholder or yeomen were obstinate, the proceedings of Sir Giles Overreach, in the *New Way to Pay Old Debts*, may illustrate the way in which the Naboth's vineyard, even of a lord of the manor, might be appropriated by a wealthy capitalist:—

"I'll buy some cottage near his manor;
Which done, I'll make my men break ope his fences,
Ride o'er his standing corn, or in the night
Set fire to his barns, or break his cattle's legs.
These trespasses will draw on suits, and suits expenses,
Which I can spare, but will soon beggar him.
When I have harried him thus two or three years,
Though he sue *in forma pauperis*, in spite
Of all his thrift and care he'll grow behindhand.
Then, with the favour of my man at law,
I will pretend some title; want will force him
To put it to arbitrament. Then if he sells
For half the value, he shall have ready money,
And I possess the land."

Considerations of mutual advantage, equitable bargains, fair purchase, superior force, legal chicanery, were all at work to accelerate the change from common to individual ownership, and to the consolidation of separate holdings instead of open farms. If the commoner appealed to the law courts, the matter too often "ended as it was friended." "Handy-dandy" was, in the Middle Ages, a proverbial expression for a covert bribe; and the perversion of justice is enshrined in the Latin jingle:—"Jus sine jure datur, Si nummus in aure loquatur." Sometimes the enclosure was successfully resisted. It was perhaps by the efforts of William Shakespeare, himself a commoner, that the attempt of the lord of the manor to enclose the common fields at Welcombe, near Stratford-on-Avon, was defeated. At Warwick Assizes, Chief Justice Coke made an order that "noe inclosure shalbe made within the parish of Stratforde, for that yt is agaynst the Lawes of the Realme."

The first result of the commercial spirit which was infused into farming was the increase of enclosures, and the consequent

moment when the supply was increased. Woollen manufactures grew so rapidly both at home and abroad that there was a ready sale for English wool both in England and on the Continent. The fineness of the English fleeces made them indispensable to foreign weavers; wool was easily transported, without risk of damage, and without liability to duty. The profits of sheep-farming were sure, and the outgoings in the cost of labour small. Arable farming, on the other hand, was an uncertain speculation, and the necessary outlay was large. No efforts were spared to extend sheep-walks. Small tenants were evicted; labourers' cottages were pulled down, the lord's demesnes turned into pastures; wastes and commons were enclosed for the same purpose. This process, which began at the end of the fifteenth century, continued till the middle of the reign of Elizabeth.

Legislation
against
Sheep-
Farming.

The change of tillage into pasture was strenuously resisted by the legislature (pp. 152, 347). To encourage arable farming and to prevent the depopulation of country districts, corn-laws prohibited the importation of wheat until the prices had reached a certain height. Acts of Parliament were passed to limit the size of the flocks which might be owned by a single sheepmaster, to prevent the destruction of farm buildings, and to check the conversion of tillage land to pasture (p. 347). At law, arable land was given the precedence over other lands; beasts of the plough received privileges from which other beasts were debarred; bonds to restrain tillage were declared to be void. But at first legislation was as powerless as the Pope's bull against a comet, and the change went on apace. It was not checked till the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, when the increased value of corn and meat, and the profits that were to be derived from arable farming, once more redressed the balance.

The
Rural
Labourer.

The twofold effect of the commercial revolution told disastrously on the condition of the agricultural labourer. His miseries were aggravated during the period under review by a rapid rise in the value of all agricultural produce. Every owner of land benefited by the rise, and tenant-farmers, if they held their tenancies at reasonable rents, grew rich. But the labourer alone suffered. As a new supply of precious metals poured in from America, the purchasing power of

money fell (p. 492). The wages of labour were arbitrarily fixed by statute at the rates of the previous century, though, relatively to the prices of necessities, they had dwindled by a half. At the same time the dissolution of the monasteries had deprived the poor of charitable aid; and the principle of their compulsory support was still imperfectly understood. The labour-market was glutted, and the power of the trade-guilds excluded the peasant from employment in towns. Hundreds of poor Toms were whipped from "tything to tything, and stock'd, punished, and imprisoned":—

"From low farms,
Poor pelting villages, sheepcotes,
and mills,
Sometime with lunatic bairns,
sometime with prayer
Enforce their charity."

The remedy for these conditions of rural distress was the employment of more labour in the profitable cultivation of the soil. But here, too, misfortune seemed to pursue the unhappy agricultural labourer. Direct and indirect evidence is forthcoming to prove that agriculture was retrograding rather than advancing, that the yield per acre was less plentiful, and that the use of such fertilisers as the science of the day commanded was declining. Fitzherbert, writing in the early part of the sixteenth century, notices that the useful practice of marling the land was in many places abandoned, that the crops were smaller, and that the husbandry was more slovenly. The decline was not unnatural. The transition which has been described disturbed that security of property without which enterprise dies. Moreover, the dissolution of the monasteries inflicted a heavy blow upon agriculture as an art. To English farming the monks were, in the sixteenth century, what capitalist landlords were in the eighteenth. They were the most scientific farmers of the day; they had access to the practical learning of the ancients; their intercourse with their brethren abroad gave them opportunities of benefiting



GRAFTING.

(L. Mascoll: "Booke of the Arte how to Plant Trees," 1572.)

by the experience of foreigners which were denied to most of their contemporaries. When the great religious houses were destroyed, agriculture, of which they were the pioneers, suffered a heavy loss.

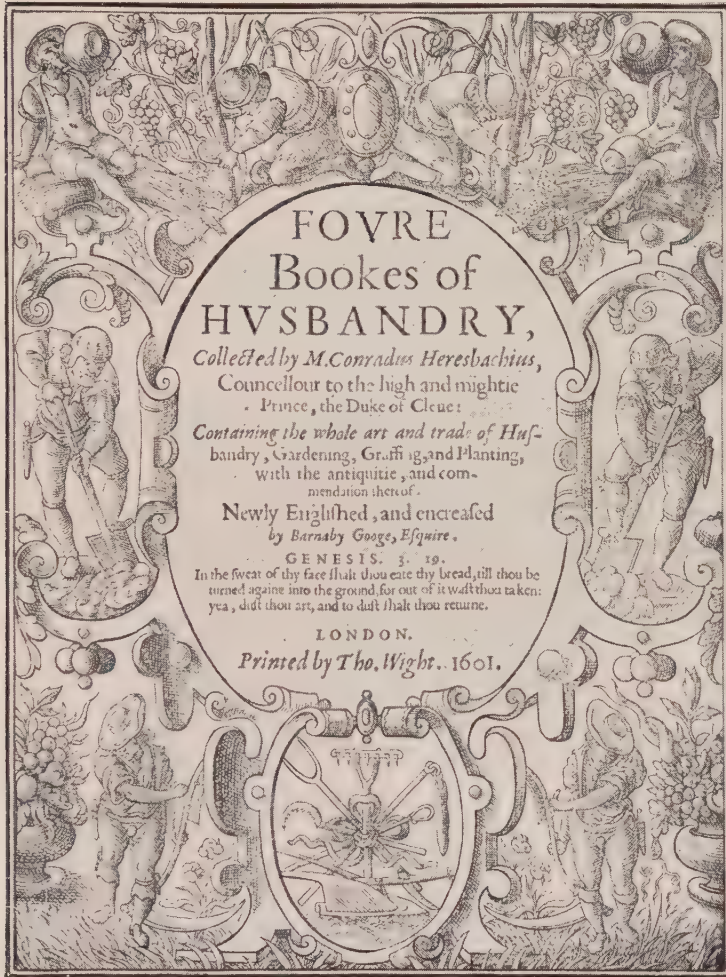
Writers
on Agri-
culture.

Already, however, there were signs that, as soon as the transition era was ended, their places would be occupied. Throughout Europe agricultural literature was commencing, and writers were at work urging upon farmers the improved methods which enclosures had opened out to them. In Spain Herrera, in Italy Crescenzo and Tarello, in the Low Countries Heresbach, in France Charles Estienne and Bernard Palissy, wrote upon farming. The gentry began to pay attention to agriculture. As Michel de l'Hopital solaced his exile with a farm at Etampes so Fitzherbert, in the reign of Henry VIII., or Sir Richard Weston in that of Charles I., or Townshend in that of George II., occupied their leisure in agriculture, and so conferred greater benefits in their retirement upon the well-being of England than they had ever done by their judicial, or diplomatic, or political services. A list of the numerous writers who studied the subject of farming in the Elizabethan period would exceed our limits. It will be sufficient to mention Thomas Tusser and Barnaby Googe.

Tusser.

Thomas Tusser was an Essex man and a Suffolk farmer. But his own life proved the difficulty of combining practice with science. "He spread his bread," says Fuller, "with all sorts of butter, yet none would ever stick thereon." He was successively "a musician, schoolmaster, serving-man, husbandman, grazier, poet—more skilful in all than thriving in his vocation." To the present generation he is little but a name; yet his doggerel poems, printed in 1573, are valuable as a storehouse of information respecting the rural life, domestic economy, and agricultural practices of our Elizabeth ancestors. When, in 1723, Lord Molesworth proposed schools of agriculture should be established, he also advised that Tusser's "Five hundred points of good husbandry" should be "taught to the boys to read, to copy, and get by heart." Like all the scientific farmers of the day, he was an enthusiastic advocate for enclosures, and he sings the praises of "several," as opposed to "champion," or open farms. He was ignorant of the use of clover, artificial grasses, and roots. Though he

mentions turnips, it is only as "a kitchen garden root to boil or butter." He altogether ignores the necessity of drainage



TITLE-PAGE TO GOOGE'S "FOVRE BOOKES OF HUSBANDRY."

and dismisses the subject of manure, or "compass," with the briefest possible mention.

Almost a contemporary of Tusser was Barnaby Googe, Googe. whose "Four Books of Husbandrie" were published in 1577.

The value of his work, which is mainly a compilation from Flemish and English works, lies in his insistence on the necessity of manure, and his mention of clover, which he calls *trèfle de Bourgoyne*, and supposes to be a Moorish grass introduced by the Spaniards. Elizabethan farmers were apt to take from the same land as many corn crops in succession as it would bear. When thoroughly exhausted, it lay fallow. No rotation of crops was practised, except the interposition of beans once in every three years: roots and artificial grasses, which, when properly employed, clean, rest, and enrich the land, were entirely unknown to the English husbandman in the sixteenth century. Hence Googe was invaluable for the stress that he laid on the one means of restoring the fertility of the soil which was open to his contemporaries, and for his mention of clover, in which lay the germs of future agricultural wealth.

Horti-
culture.

Nor was it in literature only that the promise of better times brightened the agricultural prospects. In the revival of gardening, also, there lay hope for agriculturists. Since the Wars of the Roses the art of gardening had almost expired and the dissolution of the monasteries, where alone it had survived, gave it for the time its death-blow. It is said that Queen Catherine was provided with salads from Flanders because none could be furnished at home in the reign of Henry VIII. Herbs, fruits, and roots, which had been plentiful in the fifteenth century, were dying out, or their use unknown, when the trim gardens and "erberes" of the monks passed into other hands. Now, however, gardening began, as Fuller says, to creep out of Holland into England, though, as late as 1650, Hartlib states that it was almost unknown in the north and west. Onions and cabbages had been cultivated in cottage gardens in the reign of Henry III., and were commended by Piers Plowman; but in the first half of the fifteenth century they were imported from Flanders. In the neighbourhood of Fulham and along the Suffolk coast, gardens were laid out in which these useful vegetables were cultivated, as well as carrots and parsnips, and, it is said—though probably they were not known till half a century later—"colle flowers." In these gardens also turnips were grown, but only as roots to be boiled and eaten with butter. Near Sandwich, carrots were

extensively cultivated, and were called from the place of their cultivation "Sandwich carrots."

By the middle of the reign of Elizabeth enclosures had been extensively made; sheep-farming had prospered; prices of agricultural produce were rising, and thus giving a new stimulus to arable farming; here and there a gentleman was giving attention to the cultivation of his estates; agricultural writers were urging the adoption of the best farming methods which were known to the science of the day, and in gardens new stores of agricultural wealth were accumulating. The most disastrous feature of the period was the condition of the agricultural labourer; and in the increase of arable farming lay his chief hope of employment.

THE reign of Elizabeth opens a new chapter in our industrial history. We have seen how the medieval and feudal organisation of society had broken down in the Reformation and Renaissance periods. The increased activity of the human spirit was no longer content to work under the restrictions which custom, tradition, and law had built up. The greed of kings, rulers, and landholders co-operated in the destruction of those organisations which had in some measure protected the working classes, and in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, little had been done to build up any new organisation adapted to the new order of things.

The period of transition had been one of great disorder and misery. It was reserved for the reign of Elizabeth to usher in a period of prosperity for all except the poorest classes, and to lay the foundations of that commercial and industrial supremacy which England was to enjoy for several centuries among the nations of the world.

Of this coming revival there were few signs at the time of Elizabeth's accession (1553). The Treasury was bankrupt, and the credit of the Government so low that it had to pay fourteen per cent. for its loans. Every branch of the administration was rotten. England was at war, but miserably deficient in all military and naval appliances. Domestic trades were stagnant. The spread of vagrancy and pauperism had been hardly checked by the terrible laws of Henry VIII.

J. E.
SYMES.
The
Economic
Revival.

and his successors (pp. 352-366); and the currency had been utterly disorganised by the fraudulent policy of successive governments, and the consequent increase of clipping, and of false coinage.



MEDAL OF THE REFORMATION OF THE
CURRENCY, 1560.

This was in some respects the most urgent of the problems which the new queen had to deal with. The religious question was indeed more visibly pressing. Some sort of ecclesiastical settlement

**Currency
Reform.**

must be made. The rival parties must be in some measure restrained. But there was no chance of a revival of trade and prosperity while the currency was in such a condition that no one could say what would be the real value of any coins he obtained, nor how soon that value might be diminished by a fresh issue of debased coins. There were in circulation three different kinds of shilling, and four different kinds of tester, or sixpenny pieces. All of these varied in original quality and size, and now differed from one another still more through the action of clippers and sweaters. Similar disorder prevailed among the lesser coins, and Elizabeth's council determined to call in the whole currency, and to issue a completely new set of coins (1560). This was a gigantic undertaking, and there were serious objections to every possible way of carrying it out. Nor could any method avoid rousing much discontent among those who suffered, or fancied that they suffered, from the change. But the council wisely felt that they must, at all risks, complete the reform. So the Queen issued a proclamation (Sept. 27, 1560), explaining the evils of the existing currency, and calling in the debased coins, which were to be paid for in the new coins at a rate below their nominal value, but, on an average, nearly their real value; and a small bounty was offered for every pound's worth of silver brought in. This was the essence of the proclamation, only that the rate of purchase was represented as somewhat more favourable to the public than it actually was. The Government

1584;

professed to be ready to bear the whole cost of recoinage. In reality they defrayed it, and even made a small profit, out of the slight difference between the real value of the old coins and the price given for them in the new. The following figures show the extent of the transaction:—

Debased coin collected	631,950 lb.
Silver in debased coin	244,416 lb.
Value of this in new coin	£733,248
Price paid by the Government for debased coin ...	£638,000
Cost of collection, bounties, etc.	£45,359
Cost of coining new money	£35,686
Total cost of new issue	£719,045

Comparing the third and seventh items, we see that the Government made a profit of £14,203, after paying all expenses. We certainly need not grudge Elizabeth's Government their profit. They were in urgent need of money, and had conferred an almost priceless benefit on the community; but it was characteristic of Elizabeth, that she was able to make a profit out of the transaction and yet to get the credit of having been a loser by it.

The establishment of a sound currency made a revival of industry and prosperity at least possible. Fortunately, it was carried through in time to enable our countrymen to take advantage of the great influx of silver from America. It is



MEDAL OF THE MASTER OF THE MINT AND HIS WIFE, 1562.

estimated that the amount of silver in Europe was quadrupled during the fifteenth century. The new silver, however, went chiefly to Spain in the first instance, and the Spanish Govern-

ment made strenuous efforts to prevent the other European nations from obtaining supplies of the precious metal. Their efforts, however, met with little success; and if England did not secure much additional bullion before 1561 this was chiefly because the condition of our currency and the social and religious disorder had ruined our foreign trade. From 1561 onwards silver flowed into England, with the natural consequence that prices rapidly rose, and that industry was greatly stimulated.

The In-
flux of
Silver.

The rise of prices had indeed begun by 1549, and had, on the whole, continued; but before 1561 this was mainly due to the depreciation of the coinage, which raised nominal prices. No doubt there was also a real rise in the price of grain; but this must be connected with the extensive changing of arable land into pasture. Accordingly, we find that neither profits nor wages rose proportionately. After 1561 the rise was of a healthier sort. Merchants and manufacturers began to grow rich, and workmen in their turn participated in the growing prosperity. The increased stock of silver tended also to assist the accumulation of capital. Wealth saved in other forms had not been so readily available for productive purposes. In the form of bullion it was at once easier to preserve it without deterioration and to apply it to trade, manufacture, or agriculture, according to whatever openings might arise for profitable investment.

The rise in prices was not indeed an unmixed advantage. Neither rents nor wages rose at quite so rapid a rate; and thus both the country gentlemen and the labourers found themselves put at some disadvantage. So far, however, as the labourers were concerned, the increased activity of industry gave them more employment, and more opportunities for earning wages outside their regular trade; and this probably more than counterbalanced the fact that their wages did not rise as rapidly as the prices of the things they needed. Our information is too defective to enable us to speak positively on the subject; but, at least, the proofs of social misery diminish after the restoration of the currency, though for some years the improvement seems to have been slow and slight.

We must now speak of the efforts of Elizabeth's Government to organise and foster the national industries. The name

1584]

"Mercantilism" has been given to the system that was built up in this reign, and that practically dominated English commercial policy till the close of the last century, when the whole system began to be assailed by Adam Smith and his followers. A fundamental object of this policy was the increase of the stock of precious metals within the country; and modern political economists have had little difficulty in showing the fallaciousness of the implied assumption that money is the kind of wealth most essential for national prosperity. "Money," they tell us, "is only a means towards an end, and that end is wealth in other forms—as, for instance, in the form of necessities, comforts, and luxuries." This is no doubt true, and might be accepted as self-evident, were it not in practice so often ignored. But there is something to be said on the other side. Though money is not the ultimate object of human desire, it is, for many purposes, the most convenient *form* of wealth; and, in some circumstances, it may be worth while to sacrifice quantity to form. Elizabeth's object was political quite as much as commercial. She wanted money in order to subsidise Scotch and French rebels, and so to embarrass her external enemies. She wanted money to maintain internal order, and to provide for national defence; and the maintenance of authority at home and abroad was a pre-requisite for the growth of English industry. This may be accepted as at least a partial excuse for her violation of what we should call the principles of Free Trade.

The
Mercantile
System.

This is strikingly illustrated by the Navigation Laws of the first and fifth years of Elizabeth's reign. The older laws were in some measure relaxed; but English subjects who imported goods in English vessels were excused some of the customs due from aliens and from Englishmen who used foreign ships; while, in some trades, English ships were given a complete monopoly. These measures were not merely "protective" in the modern sense. They aimed at encouraging seamanship, partly, at least, because English seamanship was one of the bases of national strength. On the same principle, Fishery was encouraged, and that not merely by remissions of customs duties in the case of English fishers in English vessels, but also by the legislative enforcement of Fasts. To assert that fasting was a religious duty was made a penal

Navigation
Laws.

Fisheries. offence; yet, for the encouragement of fisheries, fast days were to be observed. Heavy restrictions were also placed on the importation of fish caught by aliens or from alien vessels. In a report issued as to the success of the Fishery Acts in the early part of the reign, it is proudly stated that a thousand additional men had thus been attracted to the fishing trade, and were consequently "ready to serve in Her Majesty's



A SIXTEENTH CENTURY FRUIT-TRENCHER, SHOWING FISH-GIRLS.

(British Museum.)

ships." Experience, however, proved that English fishers could not supply the market adequately, and many of the restrictions were removed in 1597.

**Protection
to Infant
Industries.**

We will not attempt to describe in detail the various other ways in which Elizabeth's Government tried to stimulate native industries. Few of them involved any new principles. The importation of manufactured goods and the exportation of raw material were alike discouraged. There was, however, little

theoretical consistency in the national policy. Wool is a raw material; but to forbid its exportation would have ruined one of our chief industries. So wool might be exported; but woe to that man who exported a live sheep. For the first offence he might lose a hand! English subjects must wear English-made caps. They had not even the choice of going without caps altogether. Caps, fully wrought in England, had to be worn by almost all persons of six years and upwards, on every Sunday and Holy Day, under penalty of a fine.

Another favourite method for the encouragement of English industry was the granting of patents and monopolies. Monopolies. The establishment of great industries was induced by granting exclusive rights to those who would engage in them. This system was at a later time often resorted to, chiefly as a means of enriching royal favourites or in order to raise money for the Crown, in return for exclusive privileges. But when the ostensible motive was a real one, we must not regard the system as altogether indefensible, however unsuitable it may be to modern industrial conditions. The scarcity of capital and of business experience and enterprise in the early years of Elizabeth may have justified the giving of an artificial stimulus to new industries. But great wisdom and caution were needed in granting patents, or the ensuing evils were likely to exceed the advantages. The chartering of merchant companies was one of the most important branches of the policy in granting monopolies. But we must reserve this subject for a later paragraph.

We pass next to the Statute of Apprentices (1563)—the great effort made by Elizabeth's Government to control and organise manufactures and agriculture. This Act was not repealed till 1813. Among its expressed objects we find the raising of wages. In this respect, it seems to stand in striking contrast with the earlier Statutes of Labourers; but the Government could scarcely shut its eyes to the fact that the general rise in prices, and the revival of industrial prosperity, made an increase of wages both desirable and possible. We may next notice that the Act showed the persistence of the old belief that those who were able to labour might reasonably be compelled to do so. Agricultural labourers might be *made* to work till the age of sixty; but other The Statute of Apprentices.

labourers and artisans only up to thirty years of age or marriage. To promote permanence of service, it was provided that, in many trades, workers must be hired by the year; and a man from another parish might not be employed, unless he brought satisfactory testimonials from his last employer.

The
State
and
Labour.

Wages were to be fixed annually for each district by the justices, after consultation with "such discreet and grave persons as they shall think meet," for every trade, and no one might pay more or less than the wages so settled. This is evidently a great advance on the clumsy attempts to regulate wages in the older Statutes of Labourers.

The hours of labour were defined much as in the older laws. Except in London, the summer day's work was to be from five a.m. till six or eight p.m., but with intermissions which brought the total down to about nine and a half hours. In winter the daylight was to regulate the duration of work, and this would probably give an average of eight and a half hours a day; but the meaning of the Act is by no means clear, nor can we discover that its regulations were adhered to in practice. It further contained elaborate regulations as to apprenticeship. These may be described as an attempt to secure a thorough technical education for those entering any trade, and also as an endeavour to regulate the supply of labour of various sorts, and the proportion of apprentices to journeymen in each. Thus agriculture and village trades were more favourably treated than those occupations which involved living in towns and which were generally of less paramount necessity, or less conducive to national power. Therefore, while an agriculturist might take any lad as an apprentice, an artisan in a corporate town was limited to the sons of freemen, and these might not be withdrawn from agriculture. Merchants and shopkeepers were still further restricted and could only take as apprentices the sons of the comparatively well-to-do. Such limitations were probably partly due to the influence of the growing middle classes, anxious not to have their trades overcrowded; but in the main they seem to indicate a desire to encourage tillage and other open-air and village industries, which would tend to keep up the supply of strong fighting men, who might otherwise be tempted to migrate into the towns already unsanitary and overcrowded, and

to pursue avocations less directly productive of food and other necessities.

The Act is chiefly interesting as the first serious attempt to organise English industries after the great breakdown, in the middle of the sixteenth century, of the medieval organisation. On the whole it follows many of the old ideas, but it shows that Elizabeth's statesmen recognised the need of more

The Re-
organ-
isation of
Industry.



HALL OF THE JOINERS' COMPANY, SALISBURY.

(From an old Print.)

flexibility than had been provided for under the older laws. Thus, in the matter of fixing wages, it seems clear that the justices were intended to give authoritative sanction to a rate of wage according to the industrial forces at work in a particular locality and trade, rather than to enforce their own ideas as to what wages were equitable, or to maintain the rate that existed in the past. The State had not, indeed, abandoned the idea that it could interfere to fix wages, but it was certainly now showing a greater appreciation of the need of

caution and the strength of economic forces, the results of which could be at most only slightly modified by a consideration of what rate of wages seemed desirable. Accordingly the justices were somewhat in the position of modern arbitrators in a dispute about wages, who have to consider, not what they would desire, but what the conditions of the market admit of. Unfortunately, the justices, who were themselves generally employers, were not always impartial, and were suspected of unfairness, even when they did their best. But it is probable that they served a useful function. They were not to blame for the fact that wages rose more slowly than prices, for this is generally the case, even when the labourers are associated in strong trade unions, and are thus able to take early advantage of an improved market. At any rate it appears that the condition of the trades to which the Act applied compared favourably with that of the new trades that sprung up in the eighteenth century, to which the Act did not apply.

A similar approval may probably be given to the attempt made by Elizabeth's Acts to secure a better technical education for the labourers in the different skilled trades, but it is not possible to decide whether the regulations as to the limitation of apprentices did more good than harm.

Another branch of the Elizabethan organisation of industry was the formation of companies to take the place of the old craft guilds, which had deteriorated before the Reformation, and been almost destroyed by the confiscating policy of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.'s Council (p. 168). The new companies were of a wider character than the old guilds; they were authorised by the Crown instead of the municipalities. They were generally associations of employers instead of, like the old guilds, of actual workers, and a single company often included a number of trades.

One of the chief reasons given for forming these companies was the importance of supervising the quality of the goods offered to the public; but the more extended character of the companies made them less efficient for this purpose than the old guilds had been in the days of their efficiency.

A great stimulus was given to English manufactures in Elizabeth's reign by the immigration of Protestant refugees from

Flanders and, to a less extent, from France. As in other industrial departments, it was thought necessary for the Government to regulate the admission and privileges of these aliens. In 1561 Sandwich was licensed to receive from twenty to twenty-five master workmen as cloth-workers or fishers.

Alien
Immi-
gration.



ST. CLEMENT'S CHURCH, SANDWICH.

(Used by Walloon Immigrants.)

Sandwich had been decaying during the last sixty years chiefly through the silting-up of its harbour. The Government hoped to revive the industries of the town by means of these foreigners, and the experiment was so successful that it was repeated, both here and elsewhere. In a survey taken in

the eighth year of Elizabeth, the town was found to contain one hundred and twenty Walloons as against two hundred and ninety-one English householders. The newcomers also introduced the manufacture of paper and silk.

New
Trades.

In 1565 Norwich received a similar licence, and by 1571 no less than four thousand natives of the Netherlands had settled there, besides large numbers in other parts of Norfolk. They introduced the making of "bayes, sayes, arras, mockades, and the like." The first book ever printed in Norwich was printed in 1570 by one of these immigrants, and we find at the present day many natives of this town who bear names corrupted from the Dutch.

In 1567 Maidstone petitioned to be allowed to have foreign settlers. The petition was granted, and the thread industry, which flourished there for nearly three centuries, was thus started.

The manufacture of lace was introduced by refugees from Alençon and Valenciennes into Cranfield, in Bedfordshire, and extended thence over Bucks, Oxfordshire, and Northamptonshire. Other immigrants introduced the making of Honiton lace into Devon. Silk weaving was also brought into England by French Huguenots, and parchment, needles, and gallipots are mentioned among the other products of the skill and enterprise of the fugitives from the Netherlands.

In almost every instance the invaded districts derived great advantages from the coming of the aliens. In some cases the jealousy of the English artisans was naturally aroused; but the fact that the newcomers were Protestants, exiled for their religion, probably moderated this ill-feeling, and the improvement which the strangers made in English manufactures was so rapid and so considerable that neither the Government nor the people were much disposed to listen to the complaints of their rivals. Some restrictive measures were at a later time adopted, and in 1592 the immigrants were required to go through a seven years' apprenticeship.

The
Woollen
Industry.

While the foreigners were building up many new industries, the native woollen manufacture preserved its old pre-eminence. The direction of it was passing more and more into the hands of capitalists, who gave out work, and grew rich, partly by

availing themselves of the opportunities for division of labour, which manufacture on a large scale provided. Thus the Carders became a powerful body, and were able to secure legislative protection against the importation of foreign cards for wool. There was much rivalry between clothiers in large towns and those in country places. The latter enjoyed far more liberty, and this seems often to have balanced the advantages of concentration, and the greater facilities for manufacturing on a large scale. Parliament frequently tried



MONUMENT OF SIR J. SPILLMAN AND HIS WIFE.

(Dartford Church, Kent.)

to confine the trade to special towns, probably from a belief that the quality of the goods could be better kept up, owing to the greater ease of supervision; but their efforts to preserve the monopoly for a few towns were not very successful.

The working-up of wool into worsted was a staple of the Eastern Counties, especially of Norfolk (Vol. II., p. 564). This was a flourishing industry before the coming of the Protestant refugees. As early as 1554 foreign artisans were engaged by the mayor and some of the chief workmen to teach Norwich weavers certain branches of the trade. The result was the famous Norwich satins and fustians. To illustrate

Imports
and
Exports.

the nature of English manufactures, and the growing consumption of luxuries, we may quote here an interesting list that L. Guicciardini gives of the imports and exports between England and Antwerp, which was the port with which we did the greatest trade. "To England," he says, "Antwerp sends jewels and precious stones, silver, bullion, quicksilver, wrought silks, cloth of gold and silver, gold and silver thread, camblets, grograms, spices, drugs, sugar, cotton, cummin galls, linen fine and coarse, serges, demi-ostades, tapestry, madder, hops in great quantity, glass, salt-fish, metallic and other merceries of all sorts to a great value, arms of all kinds, ammunition for war, and household furniture. From England Antwerp receives vast quantities of fine and coarse draperies, fringes, and other things of that kind to a great value, the finest wool, excellent saffron in small quantities, a great quantity of lead and tin, sheep and rabbit skins without number, and various other sorts of fine peltry and leather, beer, cheese, and other sorts of provisions; also Malmsey wines, which the English import from Candia."

It will be noticed that English exports were still mostly in the form of raw, or almost raw, material. Much of the English cloths, stuffs, and wools were exported again from Antwerp to Italy, Scandinavia, and other parts of Europe.

The above list, referring only to the Antwerp trade, must not be regarded as a complete enumeration either of our exports or of our imports in the sixteenth century. From India, Persia, and Turkey, from Sweden, Russia, and the New World, luxuries unknown to earlier generations of Englishmen were being brought in, and many of the elders feared that a demoralisation of the national character would certainly ensue.¹

The
Great
Merchant
Com-
panies.

The English foreign trade was mainly in the hands of certain great companies, who enjoyed the legal monopoly of the commerce with various parts of the world. The earlier of these companies were not conducted on joint stock principles. They were associations of merchants, each of

¹ Among the things first introduced into England between 1518 and 1578 we may mention carp, pippins, apriots, turkeys, hops, and tobacco. "Women's masks, buskes, mufs, fanns, periwigs, and bodkins" were brought into our country about 1532.



SECTION FROM PLAN OF ANTWERP, 1573.
(Braun and Hohenberg, "Civitates Orbis Terrarum.")

whom might trade with his own capital, and at his own risk, provided that he was a member of the company, and conformed to its rules.

The earliest of these companies was that of the Merchant Adventurers, who have been spoken of in a former volume (II., pp. 552, 743); but in the period with which we are now dealing, several very important fresh companies were incorporated. Thus the Russia Company received its first charter in 1555. It thereby obtained a monopoly of the trade with Russia, and with any new countries its servants might discover (*cf.* p. 322, *seq.*).

The Czar Ivan the Terrible soon gave these merchants free access to all his dominions, and they tried to open up a new trade route through Russia to Persia. An Act of Parliament in 1556 extended their monopoly to include most of the trade with Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, and the Caspian Sea, conditionally on the trade being carried on only in English ships, and the majority of each crew being English. The company was very successful till about 1571. Then it began to decay, partly through the fluctuating policy of the Czar, but partly through the company's greed. Dutch and German traders secured much of the Russian trade, and private English merchants managed to elude the monopoly in various ways.

Of the other companies we will only mention here the Eastland Company, which traded in the Baltic, and the Levant, which traded with Turkey, Syria, and Asia Minor. By the close of Elizabeth's reign, France was almost the only country with which English merchants could trade without being members of a company.

The system thus built up was open to many of the abuses that accompany monopolies. It may, however, be noticed that it is doubtful whether, in Elizabeth's reign, freedom of foreign traffic was desirable. It was the prospect of obtaining special privileges which encouraged merchants to open up new and hazardous markets, and the organisation of such merchants into companies provided a means of protection against the oppressions of the foreign, and often half-barbarous powers, with whose subjects the merchants wished to trade.

Among other indications of the growth of English wealth

1584]

and commerce in the first half of Elizabeth's reign two facts may be mentioned here. The first of these was the building of the Royal Exchange. Hitherto the London merchants had conducted their exchange transactions in Lombard Street, in the open air. But in 1556 the building of the Royal Exchange began. This was chiefly due to the liberality of Sir Thomas Gresham, the merchant who conducted the Queen's mercantile

Growth of
Wealth
and Com-
merce.



THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

(From an engraving of 1647 by Hollar.)

and financial dealings with foreigners. But it was a feeling of the inadequacy of the existing accommodation for the increasing commercial transactions of London which prompted Gresham's offer to defray the cost of the building, if the corporation would provide the site. The other illustration of the growing wealth of England is that when the Government wanted to borrow in 1569, they were able, for the first time, to obtain their loan in England, instead of having to apply to foreign capitalists.

THE year 1580 is notable in the history of London for the adoption of a deliberate policy of State, by the advice of the Privy Council and at the instigation of the mayor, aldermen, and other the grave wise men in and about the city, to confine the capital, as far as was then possible, to the old inhabited area within and immediately without the walls, by prohibiting the erection of buildings on new sites in the

CHARLES
CREIGHTON.
The Health
and Growth
of London.

Liberties and out-parishes, or within three miles of the city gates, as well as the sub-division of houses into numerous tenements. The ordinance took the form of a royal proclamation, signed by the Queen at Nonesuch, near Epsom, on the 7th of July, 1580, and was meant to serve only until such time as some further good order should be devised for remedy by Parliament or otherwise; however, the royal proclamation remained for nearly a century the form by which it was sought to give effect to the policy of checking the growth of London. The reason alleged for this remarkable ordinance was "that great multitudes of people were brought to inhabit in small rooms, whereof a great part are seen very poor; yea, such must live by begging, or of worse means, and they heaped up together and in a sort smothered with many families of children and servants in one house or small tenement." This was, doubtless, the special effect upon London of the vagrancy and pauperism which had begun in rural England under the first Tudors in consequence of the rage for pasture-farming, had grown owing to early and improvident marriages and the removal of all other medieval checks to population which the Reformation had brought with it, and had become so fixed a part of the national life as to require, before the end of Elizabeth's reign, the formal adoption of the Poor Law. Vagrants and "landless men" naturally found their way to London, although they were not freely admitted within the walls. In a dialogue of the year 1564, a beggar stops before the door of a citizen and says the Lord's Prayer, or a jargon of it, in a canting Northumbrian accent. "How got you in at the gates?" asks Civis; whereupon the mendicant explains that the Beadle of the Beggars was a countryman of his own, and had softened towards him on hearing his Northumbrian speech. In one way or another the Liberties or skirts of London, all round the walls, had filled up with a comparatively poor and often vicious class, dwelling in mean tenements, who "must live by begging or of worse means." Many inconveniences, said the proclamation of 1580, were seen already, and more were like to follow, the most specific danger alleged being the spreading of plague into the City itself and all over the realm. The jurisdiction of the mayor and aldermen extended to these skirts of the city, as far as the Bars (Temple



NONESUCH PALACE IN 1617.
(*Braun and Hohenberg, "Civitates Orbis Terrarum."*)

"London
over the
Border"
under
Elizabeth.

Bar, Holborn Bar, the bar in West Smithfield, and so all round the semi-circle to the bar on the Whitechapel highway). But the arm of the law did not reach to the Liberties as it did to the well-ordered and regularly built City; and it is probable that the extramural part of the capital was becoming unmanageable in other respects than in the matter of plague. One of the academic themes of the time, which occupies an appendix to John Stow's "Survey of London," was touching the most convenient size of a civic community. Stow's essayist cites the opinion of the Greek architect Hippodamus, better known to modern readers through Aristotle's "Politics," that ten thousand persons was the largest community that could be well governed, fed, and kept in health.

The
Growth
of Slums.

The repressive policy which was adopted in 1580, on the initiative of the mayor and aldermen, was formally adhered to for nearly a century, during which time London quadrupled in numbers and area. A letter of 27th of June, 1602, gives us a glimpse of how the ordinance worked:—"The council have spied an inconvenient increase of housing in and about London, by building in odd corners, in gardens, and over stables. They have begun to pull down one here and there, lighting in almost every parish on the unluckiest, which is far from removing the mischief." Also householders were now and then indicted at the Sessions for subletting, but only in very bad cases: thus, at the Middlesex Sessions in May, 1637, a house was indicted which contained eleven married couples and fifteen single persons. London continued to grow; only it grew after a most irregular and unwholesome fashion, because no provision was made for its orderly expansion. But the question that here concerns us is the actual numbers of the capital at the time when the Queen's Government ordered that no more houses should be built within a radius of three miles of the City gates.

The Popu-
lation of
London.

It happens that we have the means of reckoning the population of London in that very year, 1580, with a high degree of accuracy. During the trouble from plague in 1582, when the Privy Council were blaming the City authorities, and the City authorities were retorting upon the Council and the Court, it occurred to Lord Burghley to get from the mayor a

series of the weekly burials from plague and from all other causes, and of the weekly christenings. The mayor was able to get the figures from the books of the Company of Parish Clerks, who had begun as early as the reign of Henry VIII. to compile weekly bills of mortality in special times of plague, and had gradually assumed the office of registrars of births and deaths, which they held in London until the Registration Act of 1837. The result of the Lord Treasurer's application was a neatly written tabular abstract, on ten or more pages quarto (preserved among the Cecil papers at Hatfield), showing a long series of weekly burials from plague and from ordinary causes, and of the weekly christenings, together with columns of still-births, and of the number of parishes that were free of plague in each week. The tables cover a period of five years, from 1578 to 1582 inclusive, with the five first weeks of 1583. It is not quite clear how many parishes were included in the return; but it is probable (from the known precedents of 1563 and 1574) that

the statistics are those of one hundred and eight parishes, of which ninety-seven were within the walls (mostly small), and eleven without the walls and in the Liberties, including the gate-parishes of Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, and Aldersgate, which were partly within and partly without. In the 1563 figures there were eleven out-parishes besides the one hundred and eight, including Hackney, Stoke Newington, Islington, the Westminster parishes, Lambeth and Stepney; if these had not been included in the tables for 1578-82 we should have to increase the following



LONDON BRIDGE IN 1575 (MS. Douce 68).

(Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

estimates by about one-seventh. The note gives a summary.¹ The annual average of burials is 33 per cent. more, owing to the severity of plague in four out of the five years; but in the year 1580, when there was little plague (128 deaths), the christenings were 3,568 and the burials only 2,873, the former being 24 per cent. in excess. With the christenings (in a year without the disturbance of plague) one-fourth more than the burials, we may assume that the birth-rate and the death-rate had both been favourable, say 29 per 1,000 inhabitants for the former and 23 per 1,000 for the latter, which would give a population of some 123,000.

It is probable that the numbers thus reckoned for 1580 were twice as many as the population of London would have

amounted to at the time of the Reformation, or at the dissolution of the monasteries, and that they were three times the average population throughout the whole mediæval period. The earliest known estimate is one that was made



MEDAL COMMEMORATING ELIZABETH'S RECOVERY FROM SMALLPOX (1572).

in the time of Richard I. by the Archdeacon of London, Peter of Blois. The Archdeacon was as likely a person as any to know: he gives the number of parish churches at 120 (they must have been mostly chapels), besides thirteen greater conventual churches, and the number of inhabitants at 40,000. These figures he gives in a letter to the Pope, so as to bring out the extent of his ill-paid archidiaconal duty. When the poll-tax of 1377 was taken, 23,314 above the age of fourteen years were assessed in London for their groat each, which, by the ordinary allowances for evasions and for children,

Earlier
Numbers.

	Plague Deaths.	Other Deaths.	All Deaths.	Baptisms.
¹ 1578	3,568	4,262	7,830	3,150
1579	629	2,777	3,406	3,430
1580	128	2,745	2,873	3,568
1581 (45 wks. only)	987	2,954	2,931	2,949
1582 (51 wks. only)	2,976	3,780	4,762	3,433

would give a population of some 45,000. Nearly all these had resided within the walls or at the gates. It was a few years after that date (in 1393) that the Western Liberty, or the ward of Farringdon Without, was created. The two extant bills of mortality of Henry VIII.'s reign may easily mislead as to population, being each for a single week in a time of plague; but it is probable from a study of their figures, that the population about 1532-35 was some 60,000, of which 20,000 would have been in the parishes outside the walls. The deaths for 1563 are a better basis of reckoning, the christenings also being known (fifty-one) for a single week of July, suggesting a population of some 90,000, which would probably have



MEDAL EXPRESSING FEAR THAT ELIZABETH MAY TAKE
THE PLAGUE (1574).

included a few thousands in the out-parishes beyond the Bars of the Freedom. It is true that the Venetian ambassador, in a long despatch to his Government in 1554, gives the population of London at just double that (180,000); but he shows his vague sense of numbers in two or three other instances which can be checked, such as the deaths by the sweating sickness of 1551, and the size of the liveried retinues of certain nobles, which are roundly exaggerated beyond Stow's precise numbers.

At that time the science of political arithmetic did not exist; even Lord Burghley's exact and clerkly tables of births and deaths for the five years (1578-82) would hardly have been used, as we can use them now, to reckon the population. The first attempt of the kind was made by John Graunt, of

Political
Arithmetic.

Birchin Lane, in 1662. He had been long deterred from making it by the "misunderstood example of David," in the last chapter of II. Samuel (if he could have foreseen the Great Plague of 1665 he would hardly have succeeded in overcoming his scruples at all); but as he heard aldermen and other grave wise men of the City stating the population after the Restoration at so many millions, he at length gained courage to apply the rule-of-three to the christenings and burials, and found that the whole number of inhabitants was about 460,000, of which a fifth part was within the walls, a fifth part in the parishes furthest out, and three-fifths in the Liberties and in the ring of out-parishes next to them. That population of the old City, some 90,000 in the year 1662, was perhaps the maximum of its overcrowding. Its area was 380 acres, the narrow strip of Liberties all round it having about 300. But the City, which in the time of Sir Thomas More had orchards and gardens behind the houses, green graveyards round many of the churches, and public gardens on Tower Hill, had to sacrifice every foot of open space before it could hold 90,000. Perhaps the last of these sacrifices was in building the twenty houses of Cullum Street, after the fire of 1666, upon the site of an old mansion and garden which had stood intact until then between Lime Street and Fenchurch Street.

GEORGE
SAINTSBURY.
Elizabethan
Society.

ALTHOUGH it is beyond all doubt impossible to assign to any single moment such things as the rise of a middle class or the general extension of commerce, it is equally undoubted that the general notion, which more or less dates and attributes these things in England from and to the reign of Elizabeth, is roughly and roundly correct. At no time had a middle class been wanting; at no time had there been no such thing as commerce. But until the fifteenth century, or thereabouts, England had had little to export but wool; and her imports had not been of a kind to encourage a very extensive and varied class of merchants. The influences which, with increasing force and speed, changed all this at the end of the fifteenth century, and ever more and more during the sixteenth, have been partly traced already; but may be conveniently summed up here. There were, at home, the increase of



ELIZABETH AS A GIRL: AN EPISODE.

(By permission of the Right Hon. Earl Brownlow.)

Causes
of Trans-
formation.

population after the cessation of the violent checks imposed by the Black Death, the Hundred Years' War, and the Wars of the Roses; the tendency towards breaking up pasture and towards enclosing; the dissolution of the monasteries, and the consequent disturbance and reshaping of national life (the placid vocation of monasticism and the employments which it gave being henceforth closed); the advance in domestic refinement and luxury; the Press; and the great development given by these things and others to the secular side of the profession of the law. Abroad there was, before



PRINCESS ELIZABETH AT ASHRIDGE.

(By permission of W. F. Whentley, Esq.)

everything, the immense revolution and stimulus communicated and kept going by the discovery of America and of the sea-route to the East; the additional energy infused into the prosecution of trade in these directions by the ever-growing religious and patriotic enmity between England and the great Powers of the Continent—especially Spain and her soon-to-be dependency Portugal—and the openings given to merely European trade, partly by the new communications with Russia and Turkey, partly by the continual disturbance of Western Europe, and the religious and political changes which occasioned or resulted from them. If a more general and less particular account may be desired, it would almost be enough to say that the extension of commerce (and the rise of a middle



QUEEN ELIZABETH. AN EMBLEMATIC PORTRAIT BY ZUCCHERO.
(By Permission of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury.)



AN ENGLISH NOBLEMAN.

(Weigel, "*Habitus præcipuorum populorum*," 1577.)

all, in the very remarkable and valuable series of pamphlets (mainly, indeed, by writers of the later Elizabethan and early Jacobean time, but partly by fore-runners of theirs who are enough to save us from danger of anachronism), in many passages of graver works, in religious controversies, in set biographies, and in the nascent kind of descriptions and travels by Englishmen and foreigners, we are pretty well furnished with the means of noting the changes and the additions which had been made in the types and forces of

class, which it necessarily brought with it) was simply one of the most obvious results of the indefinable spirit of innovation and change which distinguished the sixteenth century after Christ, more perhaps than any single age in the entire known history of the world.

The abundant remains which we luckily possess of the light literature of the time—the first time in English annals when light literature can properly be said to have become abundant—enable us to perceive the changes which had come or were coming over society with great ease and vividness. In the plays of the time above

The
Literary
Evidence.



AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN.

(Weigel, "*Habitus præcipuorum populorum*," 1577.)

English public and private life since Chaucer and Langland—with vigour not inferior to any Elizabethan's, but with a far narrower canvas and a far simpler palette—limned the types and the figures of a hundred and fifty years earlier.

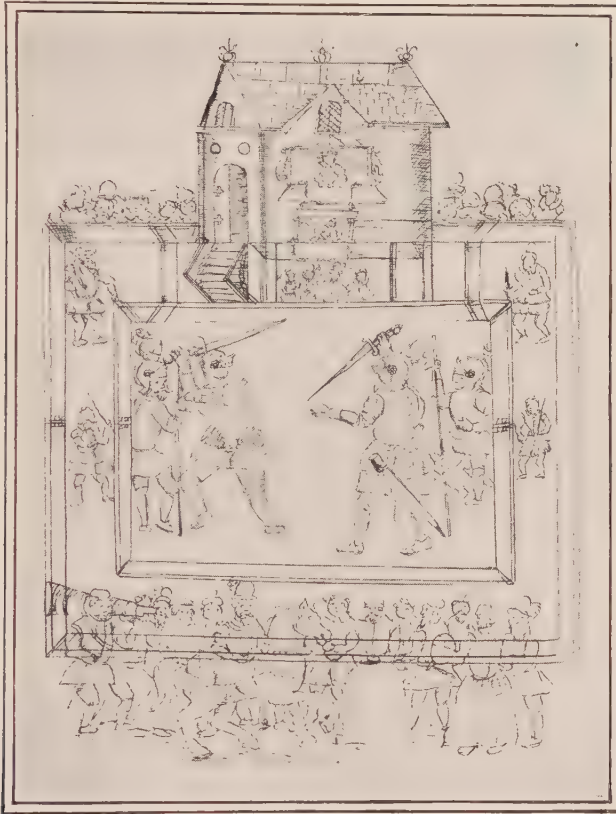
The
Court.

The grades or classes of society, in one sense more distinct, were in another much more intermingled than at the present day. It was not till the introduction of German etiquette in the second decade of the eighteenth century that the Court was sharply shut off from the people; and a delightful if not very decorous poem of Dorset's shows us how, even under the later Stuarts, persons of any character or of no character at all could safely venture into the presence uninvited, and uninterfered with unless they misbehaved themselves. In Elizabeth's own time, the constant pageants and progresses threw Court and people into pretty close company; and the Queen notoriously retained not a little of her father's disposition to be hail-fellow-well-met with his subjects. But the uncertain temper which she also inherited, and her very strong ideas as to her own dignity, prevented her from encouraging quite the same easy communication which her successor and that successor's grandson—Charles II.—freely allowed; and it cannot be said that, on the whole, we hear very much of the Court in the literature of the day, except in what may be called full-dress relations. This was partly due to the fact that much of this literature was decidedly what we now call "Bohemian," partly to the inveterate passion of the time for masking and disguising such relations in all manner of allegory and paraphrase. But the masque, the tiltyard practice, the progress, and the pageant of all kinds played a very great part in the life of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries—a part incomparably greater than anything that now corresponds to it.

The
Nobility.

Relatively, however, the class of persons immediately below the sovereign exercised a greater influence than even the sovereign herself. The few remaining members of the ancient nobility, the (so long as Elizabeth lived) still fewer additions to their ranks, the great officers of State, and even the wealthier country gentlemen of knightly rank, and the considerable functionaries (from bishops and judges downwards) maintained, as is well known, a style of housekeeping to which at present we have absolutely nothing that bears the least resemblance.

Even in the Queen's days, and not in the latest of them, the death of Edward Earl of Derby was lamented as putting an end to "old English hospitality"; but from what we know of the ways of those who survived him, there was not much to complain of. The maintenance, indeed, of a regular medieval



TILTYARD PRACTICE (MS. Harl. 69).

force of armed and regimented retainers had been made difficult by the jealous edicts of Henry VII., and would have been dangerous under the capricious tyranny of his son; but though Elizabeth was nearly as jealous as the one, and, in a less sanguinary fashion, almost as capricious as the other, the thing if not the name practically survived throughout her days; and we meet with traces of it after the Civil Wars.

Their
Retinue.

Nothing is more alien from our habits, and hardly anything is more difficult to conceive in our time, than the status of the "gentleman" of a great household then. It has been said, with hardly any exaggeration, that it provided an additional profession for men of gentle or respectable birth but not much fortune in those days; and it may be said, without any exaggeration at all, that it was a very usual interim occupation between the university and a regular profession, or a post in the civil and military service. We find, for instance, the poet Donne, long after he was married and had children, and while he was hesitating between the Law and the Church, holding this position in the household of a very undistinguished person—a mere Surrey knight. From such men upwards to earls and archbishops, every man of fortune and family, or of fortune and office, in of course increasing numbers, had these "gentle" dependants. He did not, as a rule, give them much more than houseroom in his almost always spacious house, and board at his always plentifully, if somewhat rudely, supplied table. What they gave him cannot be by any means so precisely defined. They appeared with him on public occasions; they did his miscellaneous business and errands; they gave him consequence; and occasionally, as in the cases of Wyatt and Essex, they still fought for him. Relatively to the then not very numerous population, their numbers must have been extremely large; and as a great part of their rather nondescript duty consisted in appearing in public at least as handsomely dressed as they could afford, they must have counted for much in the restless, if not exactly busy, society which we see moving in the plays and other documents of the time.

The
Gentry.

The class immediately below these men's employers (if employers be not too misleading a word) and above the lower professional and upper commercial classes, the smaller country gentlemen, need not much separate notice. They were often—perhaps in most cases—attached as pages or otherwise to the great households in their youth, and thus actually formed part of the class just dismissed. And when they had succeeded to their estates they did not, unless Parliament or business of some kind brought them, appear much in London, or fall very readily into its ways when they did. Nor can it, as a rule, have been well for them to be there; for if something may

THE Groundworke of Conny-catching;

the manner of their Pedlers-French, and the meanes
so understand the same with the cunning flights
of the Count. it Cranke.

Therein are handled the practises of the Visiter, the fetches
of the Shifter and Rusler, the deceits of their Doves, the deuises
of Priggers, the names of the base loytering Lolels, and
the meanes of euery Blacke-Ant-man Thifts, with
the reproofe of all their diuellish
practises. *Wm. Hearne.*

Done by a Justice of Peace of great authoritie, who hath
had the examining of diuers of them.
July 28. 1726. Give me by Mr. Bartholomew Gent. Com. of Surv. Collage.



Printed at London by John Danter for William Barley, and are to
be sold at his Shop at the vpper end of Gracious Street,
ouer against Renden-hall, 1592.

be set down to a stock and useful dramatic motive in the constant pictures of the squire ruined, or, at least, heavily fleeced by usurers and attorneys, courtesans and tradesmen, something will remain for solid truth. Indeed, the rapid rise of the professional and commercial classes, and the hardly yet obsolete desire of every Englishman to found a family if he can, must have supplied great facilities and no small temptations, even to country gentlemen, who were not mere pigeons (or, as the phrase then went, "coney"), to melt their acres into gold. Such a household as has been referred to, even in its most modest form, must have been enormously expensive; while the trader and the rising, but not risen, lawyer, doctor, or divine were not encouraged by the laws and customs of the time to spend very much money, and were, during the earlier years of their career, always making more. There was not, strictly speaking, any regular army or navy, and the commissions in both, when war was going on, were chiefly, if not wholly, filled by the same floating body of gentlemen which maintained and formed the households. But a good deal of money was made, if some was also lost, in the half-privateering, half-commercial expeditions of the time; much more by direct and straightforward trade, internal and foreign; much by the law in its various grades from counsel to scrivener, and, probably, a good deal by medicine (p. 200), while the abundant toleration of pluralities made the Church as a vocation occasionally a very profitable one.

The Universities and Society.

It is not to be forgotten that the Universities played a perhaps more considerable part in relation to all these grades than they have ever played since, at least, the end of the seventeenth century. Although there was no general system of education, almost any clever and promising boy in any class was pretty sure to be sent by some patron to one of the numerous free schools, whence it was his own fault if he did not proceed to Oxford or Cambridge (or, as was then common, to both). And though the greater number of those who did so proceed doubtless went into the Church, a considerable surplus drifted into the other professions and employments. The connection of both Oxford and Cambridge with the capital was also pretty close; and in the later years of their stay (which, it must be remembered, was then seldom less than seven years),

it is probable that most graduates haunted one part or another of London society.

The basement of the structure of the edifice of that society, and to a great extent of all society throughout England, was composed of elements not very different from those of the present day, with the exception of the important con-

Middle
and
Lower
Classes.



AN ELIZABETHAN FAMILY

(Brass of Lawrence Hyde, Tisbury, Wilts. 1590.)

tingent of "prentices" as an addition, and of an infinitely smaller proportion of journeymen of all kinds as a subtraction, with an almost total lack of the lowest class of unskilled workmen, or partially skilled "factory hands." But these materials, and to a very large extent the members of the upper classes already described, were intermingled and shaken together in a manner quite unknown to-day. At present,

society moves in sharply separated groups, while even the individuals of these groups keep very much to themselves. The same people meet each other at the same places and times; and they do not, as a rule, meet other people, especially of different classes. Then life was led much more in common, and much more in the open air. The merchant, instead of



COSTUME OF MIDDLE CLASS WOMEN (MS. Add. 28,330).

being shut up in his office during business hours, passed these hours on 'Change; the lawyer, instead of writing his opinion, or holding his consultation in his own chambers, met his clients in "Paul's," in the Temple Gardens, in Westminster Hall. The streets themselves, though they could hardly have been fuller, would have been full, not of men hurrying merely from one place to another, but of men occupied in them, doing their business, taking their pleasure, living their lives on the actual pavement. The perpetual rendezvous in

taverns, though, no doubt, each tavern had its more or less regular customers, was much less of a coterie thing than club frequentation. The theatres were open-air for the most part; the churches were constantly open, and places of regular resort; the great places of public haunt already named—Paul's, 'Change, Westminster Hall, and others—were not mere professional places, still less wildernesses tenanted by passing sightseers, but actual assembly-rooms. And the assemblies that haunted them were of the most varied and picturesque kind, with more than a little left of the caste dress of the middle ages, and with an incessant movement and mixture of new kinds. Soldiers just returned from Flanders and Ireland (in the latter case probably a good deal the worse for wear), adventurers fresh from Virginia or Guinea, grave citizens and lawyers, divines and physicians, great men with their company of gentlemen and serving-men, flat-cap 'prentices, city dames and damsels, courtesans, bravoos, cooks, all distinguishable more or less by their appearance, and each class having for the most part much more opportunity for individual distinction than at present—such must have been the *dramatis personæ* of the streets of London in the sixteenth century, while the streets of London were the stage on which the national life in more than a microcosm of it passed and was seen as it has never been seen since.

SINCE the social life of a nation is affected by the personal idiosyncrasies of even a weak sovereign, it is not surprising to find that the strongly marked personality of Elizabeth had power to determine the tone of society.

M. BATESON.
Manners
and Costume.

The age which knew her is fitly called Elizabethan, for no other adjective so amply describes it. From many points of view her personality was typical of that of the nation, for the nation and she were thoroughly at one. She liked to think of herself as "wedded to her people," and so close was their union that she and her people grew like each other even in externals. Thus it came about that Elizabeth's insatiable love of pleasure, her unflagging good spirits, and zest in the enjoyment of life, made gaiety and light-heartedness prevail; for her Court was gay, and her Court was everywhere, since she moved up and

The Queen
and the
Nation.

down the country, to be known and seen of all men. Progresses and pageants were everyday matters, but the Queen's healthful body was too vigorous to suffer, and neither she nor her subjects ever showed that they found the pursuit of pleasure may end in weariness. In politics and in religion she was before all things practical; so, too, was her age. She admired worldly wisdom, and if honest in nothing else she was honest in her frank worldliness. She and her people made gain and pleasure definite objects in life, and sought them in a spirit of truth. There was no half-concealed attempt at combining instruction with amusement; the Elizabethan did not seek out what he ought to enjoy and try to be interested or to laugh, but he sought what did amuse him and did make him laugh. Yet with the spirit of hearty, unrestrained enjoyment there sometimes goes a lack of discrimination and refinement, and it cannot be denied that, just as the Queen's gay, pleasure-seeking temperament was coarse, so also was Elizabethan society. The Queen could control herself well enough upon occasion, yet neither she nor her subjects thought fit to check the expression of their emotions, and the consequence was that their manners were at times unbecoming. Elizabeth spat at a courtier whose coat offended her taste, she boxed the ears of another, she tickled the back of Leicester's neck when he knelt to receive his earldom, she rapped out tremendous oaths, and uttered every sharp, amusing word that rose to her lips. Accordingly, the man who could not or would not swear was accounted "a peasant, a clown, a patch, an effeminate person."¹ Swearing became a privilege of the upper classes; the invention of new and original oaths by "St. Chicken" and the like was the young nobleman's duty,² whilst his servants were fined a penny for every oath.³

Court
Manners
and
Morals.

To obtain the Queen's favour it was necessary to be amusing, no matter at whose expense. Mary Queen of Scots judged wisely when she warned her ambassador, Melville, whose temperament was not naturally of the most serious, that he must "cast in merry purposes" as far as he could in his interviews with Elizabeth. Even the physical defects of

¹ Stubbes, "Anatomy of the Abuses in England," ed. F. J. Furnivall, p. 132.

² Crowley, "Select Works" [1550], ed. J. M. Cowper, p. 19.

³ Harrington, "Nugae Antiquae," ed. Park, I., 105.

her statesmen caused Elizabeth much delight, since they enabled her to nickname them the more aptly. The poor little pock-marked dwarf Alençon, her favoured suitor, who fortunately was devoid of personal vanity, was called "petite grenouille" to his face. Coarse manners were often the expres-



FRANÇOIS, DUC D'ALENÇON.

(From a miniature in the Victoria and Albert Museum.)

sion of coarser morals. Men of the purest and best intelligence shrank from no allusion, however gross, and felt no impulse to check their words in speech or writing; it is not surprising, then, that men of weaker intelligence felt no impulse to check their actions or their conduct. Ascham suggests, in his famous attack on the parents who sent their young sons to Italy for their education, that that "Court of Circe" was

in part to blame for the degradation of English morals. He writes: "I know divers that went out of England, men of innocent life, men of excellent learning, who returned out of Italy, not only with worse manners, but also with less learning." "Italy now is not that Italy that it was wont to be." Her enchantments "mar men's manners in England, much by example of ill-life, but more by precepts of fond books, of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in every shop in London, commended by honest titles the sooner to corrupt honest manners, dedicated over-boldly to virtuous and honourable personages, the easier to beguile simple and innocent wits."¹



BRASS OF KATHERINE
RIDING.

(West Thurrock, Essex, 1590.)

The same absence of restraint, of taste and of dignity showed itself in fashionable dress. The Queen's extravagant artificiality knew no bounds, and her example was so eagerly followed by both men and women that the English became a laughing-stock to foreign nations. The women of the Middle Ages had let loose their fancy on their headgear; but their dresses till the days of Elizabeth were dignified and simple. Even headgear in the reign of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. was simple, for the diamond hood replaced the horned and peaked structures of the past. Elizabeth's dress as a girl was markedly plain, but when she came to the throne she gave free scope to

Dress.

her vanity. She was proud of her hair, which was of a reddish gold colour, and she elaborated its dressing. Sir James Melville, in his "Memoirs," noted that it "curlit apparantly of nature." Later in life she wore a wig dyed a bright auburn to resemble her own hair in its youth. Accordingly, the use of false hair and curling-tongs became general among ladies of the fashionable world. Philip Stubbes, the Elizabethan satirist, describes women's hair as frizzled and crisped, laid out on wreaths and borders from ear to ear, propped with forks and

¹ Ascham's "Schoolmaster" [1570] (Arber), p. 71 *seq.*



Photo: W. Spooner & Co., Strand, W.C.

QUEEN ELIZABETH IN FANCY DRESS.

(From the painting by Zuccherò at Hampton Court Palace.)

wire," and says that "on this bolstered hair, which standeth crested round about their frontiers, they apply gold wreaths, bugles, and gewgaws." On the top of this structure only married women were required to wear hats;¹ as a rule, a caul, or network to show off the hair, or the "French hood" of former days, now reduced to a tiny cap, sufficed for outdoor wear.



QUEEN ELIZABETH'S GLOVES.

(Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

**The
Ruff.**

Like most of the striking fashions of the period, the ruff was of Spanish origin. It began as a large, loose cambric collar, and became so enormously wide that the wearer was greatly inconvenienced by its flip-flapping in a storm of wind and rain. To overcome this, wires were inserted to hold it up and out from the neck, and three or four minor ruffs were added to fill the space beneath this fan-like structure, which in women's dress reached to the top of the high-

¹ Rye, "England as Seen by Foreigners," p. 73.

dressed hair. Starch, "the devil's liquor," as the Puritans called it, was invented to meet the needs of the ruff, as also goffering-tongs, or "poking sticks of steel." By their means the collar was reduced to a stiff frill.



BRASS OF WILLIAM CUTTINGE AND HIS WIFE, 1599.

(*St. Katharine's Hospital, London.*)

At the beginning of the reign unmarried women wore the front of the neck bare, even out of doors. As Elizabeth's complexion was pale and fair, women in general desired to be "of a pale bleake colour"; and to obtain that end swallowed gravel, ashes, and tallow. She was long-waisted and narrow-chested,

so "to get a straight spagnolised (Spanish-shaped) body what pinching, what girding, what cingling will they not endure."¹ The long-peaked stomacher helped to produce a long-waisted appearance, and in men's dress too the doublet was padded and brought down to a peak in front.

The
Hoop.

To counterbalance the enormous winged ruff, both men's and women's dress showed a tendency to expand below. A modified form of the "farthingale," or hoop, was worn in England as early as 1545. The word is derived from the



BRASS OF WILLIAM BROWNE.

(Holton, Bucks, 1599.)

Spanish "verdugal," young shoots growing in a wood after cutting, thence a rod or hoop. In Italy, France, and Spain small hoops to expand the hips were generally worn; and as with greater expansion a larger surface for the display of jewels and embroidery could be obtained, Elizabeth's farthingale became enormous. At the end of the reign the "wheel" farthingale was in vogue, in which the skirt was drawn out at right angles to the body and wired so as to form a sort of table on which the arms could rest. Elizabeth's appearance in some of her portraits has been aptly compared to that of an Indian idol. Her dresses were covered with ornaments, not a square inch of the original fabric was left without

quiltings, slashings, or embroidery, the whole being further covered with a bushel of big pearls, or other precious stones. These last the Queen was in the habit of losing, and her wardrobe accounts contain such notices as "lost from Her Majesty's back one tassel and one middle piece of gold from a knitted button"; "lost from the face of a gown in our wearing, one pair of small aglets (spangles) enamelled blue, parcel of 183 pair." Well might the Elizabethan satirist groan "women seem the smallest part of themselves,"² "a ship is sooner rigged than a woman."

¹ 1603, J. Florio. "Montaigne's Essays," cited by Furnivall, in Stubbes "Anatomy," p. 77*.

² "Pars minima est ipsa puella sui!"

In men's dress the chief change which marked the Elizabethan period was the division of the long "hosen" of the past into two parts, breeches and stockings. Breeches were called trunk-hose or hose and stockings nether-stocks. As a rule the trunk-hose or "galligascons," were stuffed or "bom-basted" to such an extent that stooping was extremely difficult. To get into these garments was not easy; to make sure that "the long seams of our hose be set up a plumb-line, then we puff, then we blow, and finally sweat till we drop."¹ Lozenge-shaped puffings and slashings decorated the padded surface. Philip Stubbs, hearing that £100 had been paid for

Men's
Dress.



CHOPINES

(Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

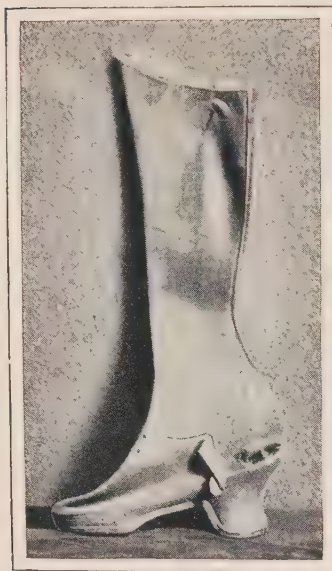
a pair of breeches, cries "God be merciful unto us!" Harrison jokingly tells of a "well-burnished" gentleman who cut down three-score woods, and bore them in his galligascons, "but caught such an heat with this sore load that he was fain to go to Rome for physie."

Sleeves, doublet, and cloak were equally ornamented; sometimes with much parti-colouring, and instead of the brown and russet and tawny of yore, numbers of new-fangled hues devised for the nonce.² Stockings were curiously knit, with open seam down the leg, quirks and clocks about the ankle,

¹ Harrison's "Description of England," ed. F. J. Furnivall, ii. 169.

² Harrison, *op. cit.*

and cost about 20s. a pair. Shoes, or "boot-hosen," were "clogged with silk of all colours, with birds, fowls, beasts and antiques portrayed all over."¹ The Venetian "chopine," or high-heeled shoe, came into fashion, and men, as well as women, chose to "tread on corked stilts a prisoner's pace." Gallants wore bracelets and earrings, and covered themselves with perfume, especially civet and musk. But it was in hats that the Elizabethan gentleman found most scope for the display of his taste. It was said that the block of a man's



QUEEN ELIZABETH'S BUSKIN.

(Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

head altered faster than the feltmaker could fit him, wherefore the English were called in scorn blockheads.² Massive gold hatbands were used as a decoration; others wore great bunches of feathers of divers colours "peaking on top of their heads." The English used so many incongruous fashions, borrowed from Denmark, France, Italy, Utrecht, Spain, and Poland, that a suit was said to be like a traitor's body, hanged, drawn, and quartered, and distributed in sections to different parts of the country. A Dutchman observed that "the English dress in elegant, light, and costly garments, but are very inconstant and desirous of novelties, changing their costumes every year, both men and women. When they go abroad riding or travelling, they don their best clothes, contrary to the practice of other nations. Their garments are usually coloured, and of a light stuff, and they have not many of them, as they have in the Low Countries, since they change so easily; nor so much furniture or unnecessary house ornaments."³ The author of the "Anatomie of Abuses," however, complains that coiffers

¹ Stubbes, p. 61

² T. Decker, "Seven Deadly Sinnes" (1606), Arber, p. 37.

³ Rye, p. 71.

1584]

crack and presses burst with excess of change of apparel. According to him the love of dress affected not merely the upper but all classes of society. "Pride in apparel has poisoned no country so much as Ailgna" (Anglia); indeed, he was prepared to allow noble folk to wear sumptuous apparel, and directed his crusade against the inferior sort.

The rigid sumptuary laws of the Tudors took no effect. "Every merchant's wife and mean gentlewoman wore her French hood, every cottager's daughter her taffeta hat." "Far-fetched and dear-bought is good for ladies," and it was in vain that the Government sought to overcome this law of feminine nature. Ascham in "The Schoolmaster" complains in somewhat mysterious language of certain "disorders," "of outrage in apparel, in huge hose, in monstrous hats, in garish colours, which are winked at and borne within the court." By law all citizens' wives were constrained to wear white knit caps of woollen yarn, unless their husbands were "of good value in the Queen's book," or could prove themselves gentlemen by descent.¹ Elizabeth re-enacted several of the sumptuary laws of Henry VIII. by a proclamation of 1565. None but the nobility might wear woollen goods made out of the realm. Only those with a net income of over £200 a year might wear "velvet or embroidery, or pricking with gold, silver, or silk" on their own apparel, or the apparel of their horses or mules. None but those worth over £100 a year might wear satin, damask, silk, camlet, or taffeta. No hosier (tailor) might make upper-stocks or breeches which measured more than a yard and a half "in compass round about," which measure is proved sufficient for persons of the highest stature, wherefore persons of a meaner stature should understand that they are intended to use a less measure. Three linings must suffice for the breeches of all persons under the state of baron. Licences might exempt persons from these rules, but fines punished those who infringed them without licence.² In spite of the rule against wearing velvet, a foreigner noted in 1592 that the woman who had not a piece of dry bread at home wore velvet in the streets;³ but perhaps hers was a cast-off garment. Stubbes tells how proud men were of their

Sumptuary
Laws.

¹ Stow's "Annales," ed. Howes, p. 1,039, col. i. (1631).

² Strype's "Annals," I., ii., p. 537 *seq.*

³ Rye, p. 8.

charity in giving away an old ragged coat, doublet, or pair of hosen.

In accepting the descriptions which satirists give of Elizabethan dress, it must not be forgotten that it is the tendency of every age to ridicule its own dress. The portraits of Elizabethan courtiers and court-ladies afford, however, ample evidence of the ugliness and artificiality of the prevailing fashions. There were many country gentlemen and sedate



THE NOBLE ART OF FALCONRY.

(Turberville, "*Art of Faulconrie*," 1575.)

statesmen and lawyers who did not follow the fashion, and their funeral monuments show them in a quiet and dignified dress.

It does not appear that the dress of the poor had undergone any important change. The poor man's breeches and stockings had not yet become distinct garments. Apprentices wore blue gowns to the calves of the legs; only persons over threescore years might wear them longer. "Breeches and stockings were of white broadcloth—viz. round slops, and their stockings sewed up close thereunto as if they were all but one piece."¹

¹ Stow's "*Annales*," p. 1040, col. i.

The mediæval military exercises were becoming a thing of Sports. the past. Masques and interludes supplied the spectacular effect; and football (played with great violence), tennis, wrestling, fencing, and games on horseback—such as tilting at the ring—took their place as exercises. Hunting with hounds and hawking were as popular with the aristocracy as ever, and, for shooting, the gun was beginning to oust the bow. The



QUEEN ELIZABETH AND HER HUNTSMAN.

(Turberville, "*Noble Art of Venerie*," 1575.)

Queen hunted every other day as late as 1600, when she was sixty-seven; and it is noted that in 1591 she shot three or four deer with the crossbow.

The secretary of a German prince who visited England thus describes his sport: "The huntsmen who had been ordered for the occasion, and who live in splendid separate lodges in these parks, made some capital sport for his Highness. In the first enclosure his Highness shot off the leg of a fallow- Hunting.

deer, and the dogs soon after caught the animal. In the second, they chased a stag for a long time backwards and forwards with particularly good hounds, over an extensive and delightful plain; at length his Highness shot him in front with an English cross-bow, and this deer the dogs finally worried and caught. In the third, the greyhounds chased a deer, but much too soon; for they caught it directly, even before it could get out into the open plain." On another occasion, a bloodhound was used "to single out the deer from several hundred others, and pursued it, till at last the wounded deer was found on one side of the brook, and the dog, quite exhausted, on the other; huntsmen took it, and the hound was feasted with its blood."¹

Bull and
Bear
Baiting.

All classes thronged to the great bear-rings in Southwark, where bulls and bears were baited. The chief was "Paris Garden," a piece of land which once belonged to a certain Robert of Paris; and thither the Queen went in her royal barge in 1599. On ordinary occasions, a place could be had for a halfpenny;² and on Sundays the ring was thronged with an excited crowd crying: "To head, to head!"—some in satin doublet and velvet hose venturing down among the bears and dogs, till they were "all with spittle from above bespread."³ In the opinion of Puritans, Sabbath bear-baitings had but one defence—they drew all the devils to one place.⁴ In order to gratify the German prince above mentioned, and at his desire, "two bears and a bull were baited; at such times you can perceive the breed and mettle of the dogs: for although they receive serious injuries from the bears, are caught by the horns of the bulls and tossed in the air, so as frequently to fall down again upon the horns, they do not give in, but fasten on to the bull so firmly that one is obliged to pull them back by their tails and force open their jaws. Four dogs at once were set on the bull; they, however, could not gain any advantage over him." According to another account (1575), "it was a sport very pleasant of these beasts, to see the bear with his pink eyes leering after his enemy's approach, the nimbleness and wait of the dog to take his advantage, and the force and experience of the bear

¹ Rye, p. 17. ² Crowley, "Select Works," p. 17. ³ Sir John Davies' "Epigrams" (Grosart, ii. 41). ⁴ A tract of 1606, cited in Furnivall's *Stubbes*, p. 79*.

again to avoid the assaults; if he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another to get free; that if he were taken once, then what shift with biting, with clawing, with roaring, tossing and tumbling, he would work to wind himself from them, and when he was loose, to shake his ears twice or thrice with the blood and the slaver about his 'fiznamy' was a matter of goodly relief."¹

The Puritan Stubbes speaks feelingly of the sufferings of the bear; but a careful bearward was no doubt anxious to preserve his charge from serious mauling. For many years the bears Harry Huncks and Sackerson were the chief attraction at London baitings, and their names were known throughout the land

Besides such exercises as hurling, wrestling, football, and quoits, the country people had many amusements in the form of dancing, mumming, and pantomimic shows, generally enjoyed at annual festivals; and these were very numerous.² New Year's Day, Twelfth Day, and the day after (called Rock or Distaff Day), Plough Monday, and Candlemas wound up the Christmas season: and a pause ensued till Shrovetide, when Collop Monday and Shrove Tuesday were celebrated with games, plays, cockfights, and feasts. Easter Sunday's hilarity began at sunrise, and was celebrated with morris-dancing and ball-games. Hock Day, the Tuesday after the second Sunday after Easter; May Day, when the Maypole, that "Stynking Ydol" of the Puritans, was brought



FIGURES IN THE MAY GAME
(On a window at Betley Hall, Staffs.)

Festivals.

¹ Rye, p 215.

² Drake, "Shakespeare and his Times," Part I., vi., vii., viii., ix.

home, drawn by twenty or forty yoke of oxen, garlanded with flowers on their horns, was set up and danced round; Whitsuntide, when the Lords of Misrule, "the wild-heads of the parish," decked with scarves and ribbons, with their legs gartered with bells, riding hobby-horses and dragons, came dancing right into the churches, piping and playing, so that the congregation mounted on the pews to see them:¹ all these things helped to make the people gay. Then followed the sheep-shearing feast or "lamb-ale"; harvest-homes; Seed-cake Day, at the close of wheat-sowing in October; Martinmas, when the stock of salted provisions was laid in for winter; and Christmas closed the year. Besides these occasions for feasting and merry-making, there were the church-ales, for which the churchwardens provided malt and brewed ale to be sold in the church for the benefit of the church. Each village had its own wake-day—the vigil of its patron-saint—when young and old ran gadding for a night to the woods, groves, and hills, spending the whole night in pleasant pastimes; and, besides these, christenings, betrothals, weddings, and funerals were made occasions for much feasting. At ordinary times, too, there was the tavern to fall back upon, and in ale-houses was much rhyming and singing by itinerant musicians who were licensed; Stubbes would fain ask whether it was Christ, the Arch-Justice of the Peace, who had licensed their horrid songs.

Food and Feeding.

The nobility, gentry, and students dined at eleven before noon, and supped between five and six. The merchants dined at twelve and supped at six. Husbandmen dined at noon and supped at seven or eight. To take two meals only was the rule; none but the young, the sick, and very early risers were thought to need odd repasts. Idle Londoners helped out the day by a half-pint of wine before dinner and a posset before bed. "Breakfasts in the forenoon, beverages or nuncheons after dinner, and thereto rear suppers generally when it was time to go to rest," were things of the past. All classes found it a hard matter to rise from table, and "large tabling and belly cheer" were considered by foreigners prevailing English characteristics; in an Englishman's opinion² this was true only of the Scotch. It was, however, generally

¹ Stubbes, p. 147.

² Harrison, ii., 142.

admitted that the English were not only great eaters of meat, but also very fond of sweet things. It was noted that the Queen's teeth were black, "a defect the English seem subject to from their great use of sugar." Courtly housewives found a way out of the annual difficulty of the New Year's gift to the Queen by sending her comfits and confections of their own making. The cooks of the nobility were for the most part "musical-headed Frenchmen and strangers," and the "sweet hand of the seafaring Portugale" was considered the cleverest at confectionery.¹ The merchants of Corinth are said to have wondered what the English did with the quantity



WINE BOTTLES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. (*Guildhall Museum.*)

(*By permission of the Library Committee to the Corporation of the City of London.*)

of currants they imported, and supposed that they were used for dyeing or for feeding hogs.² It was customary to eat soft saffron cakes with raisins in them to give an excellent relish to the beer. Raisins and currants, sugar and spices underwent great fluctuations of price with variations in the trade restrictions. In 1587 sugar sold at 2s. 6d. a pound which had just before been 4d. a pound. In 1598 a writer on the "gentlemanly profession of serving-men" complains that "there is not anything that belongs to housekeeping but it is a triple charge over [what] it was"; his father or grandfather bought an ox for twenty shillings, a sheep for three shillings, a goose for sixpence, and a pig for twopence.

Wine was no longer made in England, and the wines **Drink.** used were French, German, and Spanish. The home-brewed

¹ Harrison, ii., 145.

² Rye, p. 190.

beer was very pale in colour, but even his Highness the Duke of Würtemberg found it delicious, and relished it exceedingly. The Elizabethan country parson, Harrison, a man of "small maintenance (for what great thing is forty pounds a year, *computatis computandis*,¹ able to perform?"), brewed annually three hogsheads of good beer ("such, I mean, as is meet for poor men as I am to live withal").

In drinking or eating, a foreigner writes that the English "will say to you above a hundred times, '*drind iou*,' which is, 'I drink to you,' and you should answer them in their language, '*iplaigiu*,' which means 'I pledge you'";² and surfeiting and drunkenness were, in the opinion of most strangers, vices of the English race. Harrison, however, notes a great improvement in his days, and speaks of the "great silence that is used at the tables of the honourable and wiser sort generally over all the realm," likewise "of the moderate eating and drinking that is daily seen"; indeed, so much care was taken to avoid the temptation to drink that "salted meats are not any whit esteemed." It was still usual to taste everything on the table, but "menus" were beginning to be written for the tables of the gentry. Foreigners noted then, as now, that it was not an English custom to press guests to eat.

"In number of dishes and changes of meat the nobility of England do most exceed." "No day passes but they have not only beef, mutton, veal, lamb, kid, pork, coney, capon, pig, or so many of them as the season yields, but also fish in variety, venison, wild-fowl, and sweets."

The
Table.

Though this sounds excessive, it should be remembered that there were but two meals in the day, and that in the halls of the nobility it was still usual for the chief servants of the household to dine with the family and guests. The upper table having been served, the food was sent down to the serving-men and waiters, who fed thereon "with convenient moderation, their reversion also being bestowed upon the poor, which lie ready at their gates in great numbers to receive the same." Gentlemen and merchants contented themselves with four, five, or six dishes, or if there were no guests, with three at most. At merchants' boards,

¹ [*I.e.* counting all necessary outgoings.]

² Rye, 191.

1584]

Harrison notes, cold meat is often seen, but at their great feasts butcher's meat was quite despised, and the poulterer's more delicate meats preferred. "In such cases also jellies of all colours, mixed with a variety in the representation of sundry flowers, herbs, trees," "marchpanes, wrought with no small curiosity," and all kinds of sweets generally bore the sway.

People of the middle class, such as the Harrisons, accounted all the varieties of brawn and sowse "a great piece of service at the table" for the winter months. Brawn being somewhat hard of digestion, a draught of malinsey, muscadel, or hot Spanish wine was usually taken after it "if it could conveniently be had." At all seasons of the year it was possible to get fish, which was much used by the common people. Its consumption was fostered by legislation. Fowls, pigeons, and all kinds of game were cheap and easily obtained. "The artificer or husbandman makes greatest account of such meat as they may soonest come by and have it quickest ready." White meats, milk, butter, and cheese, which were wont to be accounted one of the chief stays throughout the island, are now, Harrison says, "reputed as food appertinent only to the inferior sort."

The very poor, if they had an acre of ground wherein to set cabbages, parsnips, radishes, carrots, melons, pumpkins, lived on such-like stuff as their principal food. Bread was less easily come by, and many substitutes, such as beans, peas,



ENGLISH SILVER TANKARD OF 1574.

(Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

oats, and even acorns, were used by the poorest. At feasts, when "husbandmen do exceed after their manner, especially at bridals, purification of women, and such odd meetings," "it is incredible to tell what meat is consumed." On such occasions it was the custom for each guest to contribute one or more dishes. The artificers and husbandmen, Harrison's "fourth and last sort," are, he says, liberal and friendly at their tables, and when they meet are so merry without malice, and plain without inward Italian or French craft



CHIMNEYS AT WOLTERTON MANOR HOUSE.

(From a photograph by the Rev. W. Martin.)

and subtlety, that it would do a man good to be in company among them.

Decoration
and Fur-
niture.

The old men of country villages loved to discourse on the great, although not general, amendment of lodging which had taken place in their lifetime, and on the change which the introduction of chimneys in all the better houses had brought about. In their eyes both subjects were matter for melancholy lament. To their thinking, charity died when chimneys were built, for the poor had never fared so well as in the old smoky halls. When houses were willow, Englishmen were oaken; now houses were oaken, and the

1584]

Englishmen of straw. In every age men believe that their new comforts are signs of the nation's approaching decay,

VENETIAN GLASS. (*Guildhall Museum.*)

and every age is convinced that it suffers more from physical delicacy than the age which preceded. The Elizabethans had further to lament that their windows were made of glass, and not of open lattice-work; that many floors had carpets which lately had rushes; that timber

houses were giving way to houses of brick and stone, smoothly plastered inside; and that even inferior artificers and many farmers possessed comfortable beds, hung with tapestry, and used pillows (once thought meet only for women in childbed) instead of a log of wood, or at best a sack of chaff. In every merchant's hall stood "easy quilted and lined forms and stools"; and Sir John Harrington, writing about 1596, says that, as this is so, it is absurd that the stools in the Queen's presence-chamber should be so hard that "since great breeches were [for a while] laid aside, men can scant endure to sit on" them.¹

VENETIAN GLASS. (*Guildhall Museum.*)

(By permission of the Library Committee to the Corporation of the City of London.)

Owing to the great plenty of silver after the Spanish conquests in Peru and Mexico, comparatively poor men

¹ "Nugae Antiquæ," i., 202.

could afford to garnish their cupboards with plate, and the poorest now used spoons and platters of pewter instead of wood. "The gentility, as loathing the metals, silver and gold, because of the plenty, chose generally the Venice glasses," and even poor people could afford an inferior home-made glass, made of fern and burned stone. "Glasses, glasses is the only drinking."

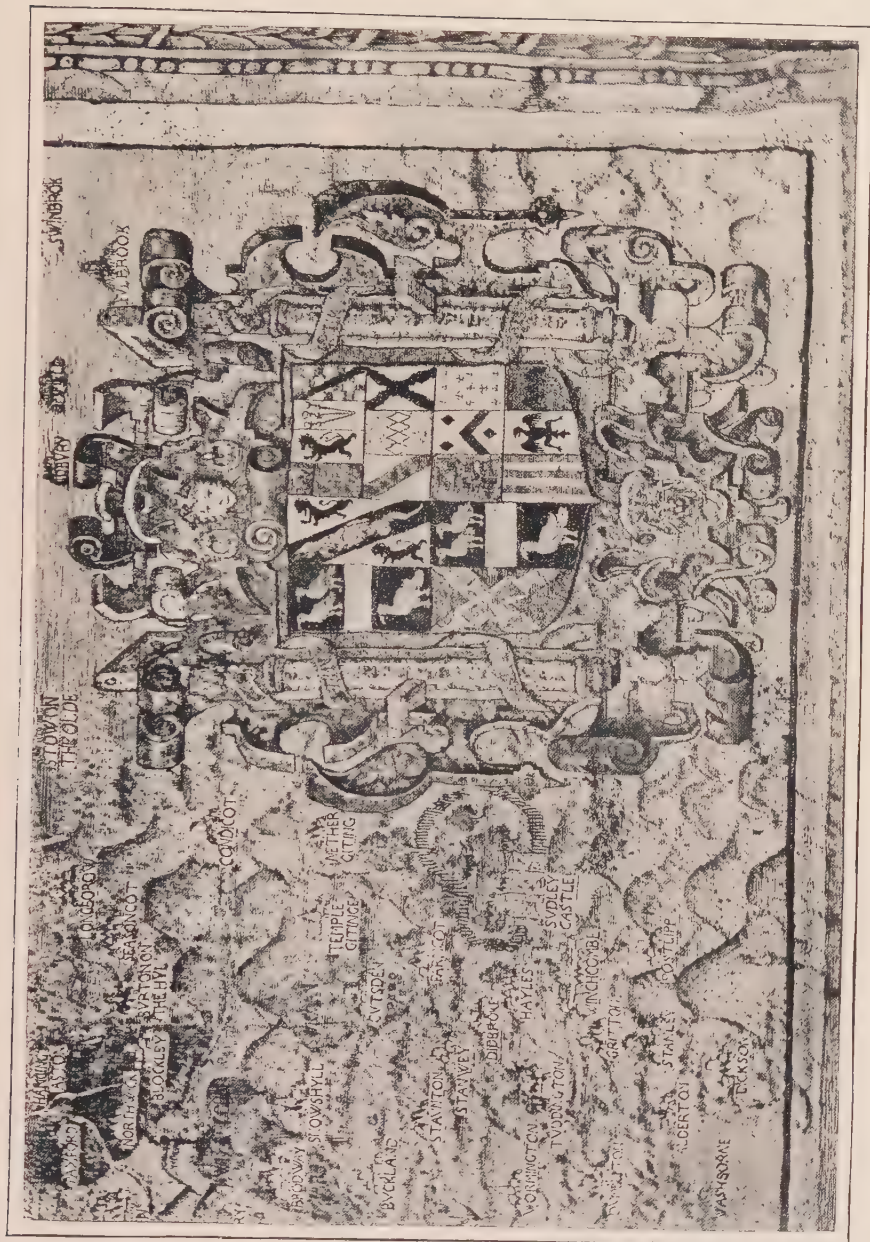
The English taste for rich hangings of tapestry was as strong as ever. All gentlemen's houses had either wainscot or "painted cloths wherein either divers histories, or herbs, beasts, knots, and such-like are stained." At Hampton Court the tapestries were of pure gold and fine silk, "so exceedingly beautiful and royally ornamented that it would hardly be possible to find more magnificent things of the kind in any other place.' In the Queen's state-room the tapestries were garnished with gold, pearls, and precious stones, and the royal throne was studded with very large diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and the like.¹ All this display was rendered comparatively easy by the influx of gold and precious stones from America.

Sudden wealth had come to a whole country, and the country was tempted, like a merchant not born to riches, to use the whole in outward show. The dearth of certain modern necessities of life becomes the more glaring. Good soap was an almost impossible luxury, and clothes had to be washed with cow-dung, hemlock, nettles, and refuse soap, than which, in Harrison's opinion, "there is none more unkindly savour." Again, at table no forks were used; they were first introduced, to the great "sparing of napkins," at the beginning of the next century.

Roads
and
Travel.

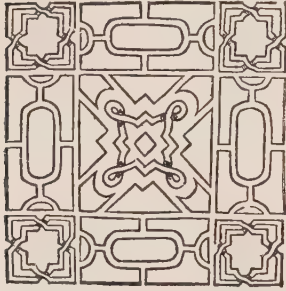
Even Elizabethans felt that the state of the roads was a disgrace to their country. All long journeys were performed on horseback; no kind of light carriage existed. Royal personages possessed lumbering gilt coaches, but towards the end of the reign coaches were beginning to be used by the wealthy in the London streets. The Queen performed most of her journeys on horseback, and men and women grew habituated to continuous riding. Princes who started on journeys in coaches got stuck fast in the boggy roads, but

¹ Rye, p. 18.



MAP ON TAPESTRY. (York Museum.)

some preferred this to remaining long in saddles, which the heavily built found exceedingly hard. Baggage was carried in two-wheeled waggons drawn by six strong horses, and for a progress the Queen used as many as six hundred such carts.



AN ITALIAN KNOT.

(Gervase Markham, "*New Orchard and Garden*")

In the neighbourhood of London highwaymen were specially to be feared on Gad's and Shooter's Hill. The inns (p. 183) were praised by most travellers, though it was always needful to sleep with a sword at hand. The purse, we are told, should be laid by the pillow with the garters, so that it may not be forgotten.

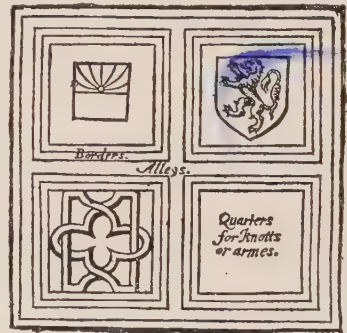
In a manual of so-called English conversation, published in 1589,¹ we meet with this dialogue:—The traveller is to address Jane, the chamber-

maid, thus: "My shee frinde, is my bed made?—is it good?" "Yea, sir: it is a good federbed; the scheetes be very cleane." Traveller: "Pull off my hosen and warme my bed; drawe the curtines, and pinthen with a pin. My shee frinde, kisse me once and I shall sleape the better. I thanke you, fayre mayden."

A Dutch traveller, in 1560, writes thus of the English:—"The neat cleanliness, the exquisite fineness, the pleasant and delightful furniture in every point for household, wonderfully rejoiced me; their chambers and parlours strawed over with sweet herbs refreshed me; their nosegays finely intermingled with sundry sorts of fragrant flowers in their bed-chambers and privy rooms with comfortable smell cheered me up"

Parlours were trimmed with green boughs, fresh herbs, or vine leaves in summer, with evergreens and box in winter.²

The garden hitherto had been little used except for



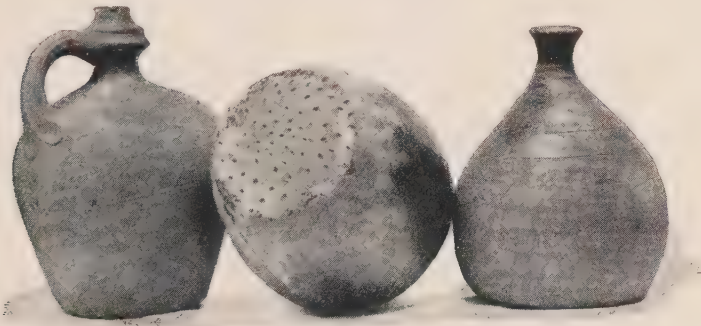
A PLAIN SQUARE KNOT

(Gervase Markham, "*New Orchard and Garden*.")

¹ Rye, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

medieval herbs and a few vegetables (p. 488). The Harrisons **Gardens.** had in their garden of 300 square feet 300 kinds of simples, but flowers of a more ornamental character now began to be sought. In summer, gentlewomen "will carry in their hands nosegays and posies of flowers to smell at, and which is more, two or three nosegays sticked in their breasts before."¹ The geometrical arrangement of "knots" was coming into vogue at the great gardens of Nonesuch, Theobalds, Cobham Garden, and also at Hampton Court, where the hedges of rosemary were famous. Bacon condemns the making of knots or figures with divers coloured earths as "but toys: you may see as good signes many times in tarts."



WATERING-POTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. (*Guildhall Museum.*)

(*By permission of the Library Committee to the Corporation of the City of London.*)

WHEN Mary Stuart landed at Leith from France (1561), the young Queen and widow of nineteen received a rough but kindly welcome from as turbulent a people as ever sovereign essayed to guide. Four years of vigorous rule, worthy of the active days of her sire and grandsire, were all too soon blighted by her unhappy marriage, followed in quick succession by the Rizzio tragedy, the Darnley murder, the flight with Bothwell, the shame of Carberry and Lochleven, the desperate rally at Langside (1568), and the consequent loss of crown, liberty, and life (1587). Seldom has the finger of History written so much grim romance with pen so swift. The crown was left to a feeble, ricketty child, at play in Stirling Castle, and by-and-by to grow to manhood oblivious of that welter

**JAMES
COLVILLE.**
Scotland,
1561-1603.

¹ Stubbes, p. 78

of anarchy and intrigue called the regencies of Murray, Lennox, Arran, and Morton. And when he did come to maturity, easy good nature, coarse *bonhomie*, infirmity of purpose, indolence, and timidity of temperament, formed a weak close to the centuries of sturdy independence enjoyed by the Scottish Crown.

The national forces at work during these forty years darkened the depressing features of the time. The crown never was feebler, the national spirit of the barons never more corrupt and violent. Justice was openly bought and sold, while private feud, scorning the restraints of either the law or the Church, shocked and harassed society. The Reformation increased the confusion, and specially intensified the curse of foreign interference. France countenanced the Catholic lords but did nothing to save the Queen's party or wreck reform. More insidious and unscrupulous was the policy of Elizabeth marked as it was by mendacity, selfishness, and trickery. Her numerous agents were the ready tools of Cecil and Walsingham in corrupting national feeling and fomenting disorder. Their activity was limited only by their mistress's strong objection to *charges*. She would do mischief, but grudged the expense. The old suzerainty claim still blighted, like a curse, the relationships of the sister kingdoms. The two peoples, as an English traveller of the time observed, differed nowise in language, faith, or practice. Divergence became much more marked after the Union of 1603. The Kirk strove to save society, honestly, though with a narrow zeal characteristic of the age. Scottish Puritanism had its limitations, but it was imbued with the national feeling, and only leant on English support against France and reaction. Unaided it opposed the Episcopal leanings of Morton and the king, but in so doing it materially aided the English Puritans in their constitutional struggle.

Law and
Order.

The rapidly shifting scenes of the time exhibit, with dramatic force, the conditions of every-day life. Law and order could hardly be said to exist. The Court of Session sat, but its procedure was often little better than the ordeal of battle. When a Day of Law was appointed, the accused gathered his "fighting tail" around him as witnesses to the power of his name, not the justness of his cause. The object was to overawe

the court and thus evade the trial. The people were quarrelsome and litigious. A change of Cabinet usually involved a trial for treason, a charge of intrigue with the enemy, and death at the Mercat Cross for the defeated party. A contemporary says it was hard for any peaceable man, as he rode



Photo: W. Spooner & Co., Strand, W.C.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

(From the painting by Mytens at Hampton Court Palace.)

out on the highway, to profess openly that he was for king or queen; "all the people casten sae lowss, and become of sic dissolute minds and actions that nane was in account but he that could kill or reive his neighbours." The necessity for mutual protection, for lawful or unlawful purposes, gave rise

to the *band* or covenant of Manred (homage), a custom peculiar to the age and country. The legal phraseology of the time, too, is significant, with its quaint charges for *herrschip*, *hamesucken*, and *stouth* or *stouthrief*. Frightful contempt for human life blunted the sensibilities of all. The king himself, ludicrously timid as he was, treated witches and weak insulters of majesty to short shrift. In 1581 a town-officer in Edinburgh, selling by auction some poided goods at the Mercat Cross, playfully nailed pictures of the king and queen to the gallows, that stood permanently close by. For this the man was apprehended and hanged. The bodies of doomed victims lay long unburied, and on the gable of every Tolbooth was the spike for the ghastly head. Thus the heads of Morton and the Gowries, as, at a later date, those of Montrose and Argyll, were left to bleach on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

The
Country
Districts.

What must have been the lot of poor husbandmen in such times? Where exposed to the forayers of the Debateable Land, and the caterans of the North, the outer barbarians of Skye and the Lews, farming must have existed only in the swiftly portable form of small black cattle and sturdy garrons. Certainty of tenure or profitable husbandry was alike impossible. A popular poem corroborates the gloomy sketches of Maitland and Charteris. Signs of thrift and prosperity in the homestead excite the cupidity of the laird's wife, and the rack-rents and double services begin. No longer has the carle ability or wish to follow his lord to the wappenschaw "in feir of war." Estienne Perlin, travelling about the middle of the century, finds the country poor in gold and silver (coin), victuals plenty, arable land indifferent, much bad and wild uncultivated land, with here and there small towns and villages. Fife, cut off by the sea from the disorders of North and South, is the most flourishing district. Fynes Moryson (1598) also notes the pleasant prospect here, but adds, "There are no woods at all, but only the seats of the squires, shaded with some little groves. *Trees in general are rare.*" He saw Falkland, once in the midst of a royal forest, but he found it old and ready to fall, though built so recently as James V.'s time. Fife must have been a favourable type of prosperity, with its cornlands, seacliffs rich in coals, shores abounding in oysters, but above all in its populous burghs of Flemish and

Frisian origin, studding the hem of fruitful seaboard. Upon the whole, however, Moryson has to remark, "As in the North of England we have small pleasantness, goodness, or abundance of fruits and flowers, in Scotland much less."

Industry and culture were confined to a few small towns. The population rose from about 600,000 in 1556 to a million at the Union. With England there was little intercourse. Only thirty-six Scots were to be found in London in 1567, whereas the Dutch numbered nearly three thousand. Few Southrons travelled across the Border. Moryson found no public inns, but the better citizens brewed ale and entertained on acquaintance or entreaty. Aberdeen and Dumfries, at either extreme, had considerable trade, but their citizens lived as in a camp, exposed to the feuds of the neighbouring gentry. Perth and Dundee were making the most of their favourable natural positions. A merchant of Ayr furnished the King with a fine ship when he romantically set out to fetch home his bride from Denmark. Glasgow was but an obscure village under the shadow of the Bishop's Castle, and did not get full burgh rights till 1636. The flourishing ports of Berwick and St. Andrews declined rapidly with the fall of the old Church that had fostered them. The burgesses of Berwick had been the pioneers of commerce, and when Bishop John of St. Andrews wished to found another such port at his See, the King had given him the services of Mamard, a Fleming and burgess of Berwick. The trade of St. Andrews was at its best just before the storm burst that wrecked the Cathedral.

The historic memories and the picturesque humours of the capital, at this romantic epoch, would themselves furnish forth many a chapter of social life. It combined the interest of Elizabethan London and Revolutionary Paris. Always circumscribed, it was, even at the Union, limited to its narrow central ridge. The Canongate, a *faubourg* extending from the Palace to the city port of the Netherbow, was the counterpart of the London Strand. Towards the end of the century it was beginning to be covered with noble mansions, a sign of growing prosperity. Such of the lesser nobles as resided in the capital had their houses on the Castle Hill around the minor court of Mary of Guise. Later in the century

nobles and rich burgesses were disposed to leave the noisy High Street to the craftsman, and retire to the slopes towards the south. There at the foot of narrow lanes, easily defended by closing the strong iron yetts (gates) at the entrance, they looked out upon tiny courtyards and pleasant gardens. This aristocratic quarter of the Cowgate took its tone from the Bishop of Dunkeld's house, and Blackfriars, where Cardinal Beaton had lived. Near by was the house of Napier, Master of the Mint, where the Danish nobles were feasted in 1590. The *vivres* were bread and meat with abundance of beer, ale, and wine. The provost provided "naprie and twa dozen greit veschell," the goblets or *skolls* out of which were drunk the rousing pledges that were long known by that name.

The High Street was the scene where the Montagues and Capulets of the time bit thumbs or delivered the assassin's thrust with deadly whinger. The apprentices were equally reckless of life, and mingled sport with bloodshed. On such occasions the broad street was speedily cleared, the booths shut up, and the yetts at the close-heads promptly secured, while from the boles, or round apertures, that did duty as windows to light the turnpike stairs, pale faces looked down upon the *mêlée*. In 1584, when there was a king again in the land, an attempt was made to secure order and protect traders from the constant plundering of their booths. The citizens were to take the watch in turn. In 1596 a town-guard of thirty was appointed, but to little purpose. The king was one day walking down the street with two of his nobles, when a feud broke out between them, and he had to seek the shelter of a skinner's booth.

The High Street was devoted to trading. Here was concentrated the business of a population of 30,000, in a space of a quarter of a mile. At its upper end, in front of St. Giles, stood the cross, and beside it the gallows. Here was the 'Change and open-air parliament. The causeway was covered with the trons (weigh beams) for various markets, besides merchants' booths, specially on Sunday, of old a market-day, till the Kirk, after 1560, urged the magistrates to close shops and taverns during divine service. Tanners, brewers, and candle-makers were also allowed to carry on

their noisome crafts here. Attempts were made to reduce the mounds of garbage, and prevent swine from being a pest on the street. Citizens were to burn *bowets* or lanterns at certain places from five till nine o'clock in the evening. Fires were frequent and destructive, for stacks of fuel were common enough beside the doors. In 1584 a baxter's boy, "no doubt at Satan's prompting," says the chronicler, set fire to his father's heather-stack, to the destruction of his house and



EDINBURGH IN 1616.

(Braun and Hogenberg, "Civitates Orbis Terrarum.")

the hazard of the town. He was *burnt quick at the Cross*, this *enfant terrible*. The king, reminded by his winter's stay in Denmark (1590) of the shortcomings of his noisy capital, wrote urging his Council to put everything in order, "for a king of Scotland with a new-marid wife will not come home every day." "For God's sake," he also wrote to a city clergyman left in charge of the capital, "take all the pains you can to teach our people weill against our coming, lest we be all ashamed before strangers." This worthy must also press the provost to supply the master of work with good

craftsmen "to end the half-perfyted Abbey (the palace) that now lies i' the deid-thraw."

Manners.

Sir Richard Maitland throws much light on the social outlook after 1560. He notes a less kindly feeling between the classes. Among wealthy traders new-fangled notions are spreading with the love of finery and display. All this, however, only marks better notions of comfort as great houses ceased to be fortresses. Sleeping accommodation improved. The poor still lay on heath or rushes covered with skins. Fustian blankets were coming into use, with sheets of linen and pillows covered with silk. Some Lowlanders indulged in feather beds. Archbishop Beaton left at his death twenty-three of these. Like the glass windows, they were laid away when the owner left home for a time. Moryson, at a knight's house in 1598, tells that many servitors in blue caps brought in the meat at dinner. The table was more than half furnished with great trenchers of soup. Each had in it a little piece of sodden meat. The upper mess (above the salt) had a pullet with some prunes in the broth. After the table was laid, each servitor sat down below the salt. Knives for each guest were not used at table till long after this time. Even so late as Adam Smith's day, when he was a Snell Exhibitioner at Balliol, they were chained to the common board. The soup was taken with horn spoons, and the meat was held on a fork. "Formerly," says Coulange, "they dipped their bread and fingers in the fricassee, nowadays everybody eats his soup on the plate; politely one must use both spoon and fork, and, from time to time, a servant must go to the cupboard to wash them." Sumptuary laws were in vogue. An Act of James VI. enjoins no one under a prelate or an earl to use, at bridals or banquets, drugs or confections brought from abroad. The king himself was as thrifty perforce as Elizabeth was parsimonious from choice. At the baptism of baby Charles (1600) he writes to the laird of Arniston "to *propyne* with venison, wild meat, Brissel fowls (Brazil turkeys), capons, and siclike," inviting him at the same time to taste part of his own good cheer. A contrast this to the feudal plenty of the Highland barons, as disclosed by the Breadalbane and Cawdor papers, for these had crowds of tenants paying rent in kind. There "it snowed of meat and drink."

The High Street of Edinburgh must have presented a City Life. picture, lacking certainly in Chaucer's grace of burghal life but far richer in contrast and dramatic intensity. Here comes the provost or bailie, bearing the keys of the city, who "misknawls himsell

"When he gets on a furrit gown;
Great Lucifer, maister of Hell,
Is nocht sa nelie [haughty] as that loon,
Wi' his keys clinkand on his arm,
As he comes brankand [strutting] thro' the toon."

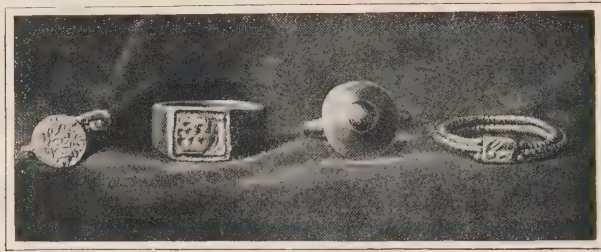
Still more gorgeous is the noble, swaggering in velvet doublet, furred and jewelled; or, if bent on "staying a plea," clad in steel head-piece acton, jack, and plait sleeves, with sword at hand. Behind follow his retainers with iron knapskull, and harnessed in jacks, and carrying bow in hand. And when the *tulzie* (brawl) begins, they will rush to the booths for fore-hammers and beams, and smash in the heavy yetts behind which their rivals shelter. All are on foot except on gala-days, such as the Riding of the Parliament, when the barons, on caparisoned steeds led by cadets of the house in richly blazoned cloaks, march up the High Street. It was a novel sight when Anne of Denmark passed to the Abbey (1590) in "ane dame's coach drawn with aucht cursers of her awn."

In 1561 the wife of an Edinburgh citizen had her purse stolen, hanging at her apron while she talked with the shopman who was putting a string to a pennar and inkhorn she had just bought from him. The purse had in it no fewer than seven gold rings set with precious stones, a surprising display of luxury in a country which Shakespeare's Dromio, playfully likening his kitchen-wench to the globe, "found by the barrenness, hard in the palm of the hand." Yet the close of the century showed marked progress in prosperity. George Heriot received the king in his seven-foot square booth in the Goldsmith's Row in Parliament Close, and on one occasion treated him to a costlier fire than he had ever had in the palace, for the banker flung into the flames a bond for £2,000 which the king owed him. Thomas Foulis, who in 1593 furnished funds for the expedition against the Papist lords, secured a long lease

of the gold, silver, and lead mines that the monks of Melrose and Newbattle had first worked on Crawford Muir and in Glengoner.

Sports
and
Pastimes.

James I. tried to popularise archery, but with little success, as we see from the awkwardness of the peasants in "Peebles to the Play." Weapon-shaws were reserved for barons, bonnet lairds, and rich burgesses, and for these the Bow Butts, still in street names, existed. James Melville, writing of his boyhood at Montrose about 1570, tells how he was taught the bow, golf, and single-stick; also to run, leap, swim, and wrestle. He had not a purse for fives and the tavern, but he now and then practised tennis. The king, who had not



RINGS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

(National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.)

the use of his legs till he was nearly seven, played at shovel-board and *Call the guse* ("the royal game of goose"). The capital had neither theatre nor concert or assembly-room till the eighteenth century, yet we read of a list of fourteen musical instruments that were played before Anne of Denmark in her *progress* through the capital. Chroniclers note such exhibitions as that of Marocco, the wonderful horse, supposed to be uncanny, of the juggler that Birrell tells of in his "Diary," who played supple tricks on a rope stretched between St. Giles's steeple and a stair beneath the Cross.

Public
Health.

The most notable plague of the century was that of 1568-69. The weather had been very severe, and the country was much distracted after the Battle of Langside. Hunsdon, waiting at Berwick to conduct Regent Murray from London, complains of the great frosts, varied by such thaws as were

then threatening to sweep away Tweed Bridge. He fears this will affect public health, yet "there is never a physician this side of York, if indeed there be any there." A merchant brought the *pest* to Edinburgh. Infected families had to lodge in wretched booths hastily erected on the Borough Muir. Two close biers, covered with black, and showing a white cross, removed the dead. A bell, hung upon the side of each, gave warning. This pest carried off nearly three thousand.

The Reformation was a social, much more than an ecclesiastical, revolution. The old Church had long lost its hold on society. Its wealth and worldliness excited the cupidity of the nobles; its sloth, ignorance, and apathy alienated the masses. The age that reared the cathedrals and great abbeys had long passed away; and for two centuries nothing but a few collegiate churches had been built. A few hovels, "scant coverit wi' heather," supplied the rural districts. The reformers undertook the spiritual cure of the nation on the scantiest resources. Of the old temporalities two-thirds were retained by the bishops and barons. The Crown doled out a portion of the remainder to the Reformed Church. Its clergy was long poor, few in number, and dependent on the offerings in kind of their people. The Assembly of 1576 allowed a minister or reader to tap ale provided they do it with decorum. The address to the General Assembly of 1572 says that "maintenance of kirk and poor has gone to profane flatterers at Court, ruffians, and hirelings; the poor are oppressed with hunger, the churches decayed for lack of clergy, the schools utterly neglected, the sacred buildings are like sheepcotes."

The reformed clergy affected an Apostolic simplicity in contrast to the splendour of the old Church. They dressed in plain fabrics, eschewing all gay colours and finery. With much self-denial and stern resolution they set themselves to reform society. Their ideal was a "theocracy saturated with socialism." They took the field against idolators and fornicators, and especially against the worship of the Mass. The great weapon in the attack was preaching. To the popular leaders in the capital the pulpit filled the place of the modern press. All churches alike in those days sought political power in

The Kirk.

The
Clergy.

order to secure, with singular inconsistency, freedom and uniformity. The people were to be enlightened, too, and so one of the most persistent demands was to have the Bible and the services in the vernacular. When, after long waiting, Arbuthnot's Bible appeared, inspectors were to go into every house to see that a copy was provided for the family. There were now to be regular Sunday exhortations and a mid-week service. Families were to be regularly catechised to ascertain progress in saving knowledge. Even the Catholic lords had



ABERDEEN CATHEDRAL.

to receive certain clergymen into their households. The services were after the Low Church fashion. Few parishes had a clergyman all to themselves; most had only a reader. His place was the lectern below the pulpit, still called the *letterin*, or precentor's desk. The Book of Common Order was used, and the singing, kneeling, reading of prayers, and the entire service were decorously liturgical.

Morals.

The old Church left a legacy of abounding immorality, with which it had long wrestled in vain. An elaborate code of forbidden degrees had cumbered the marriage laws, which,



GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.



LINCLUDEN ABBEY.

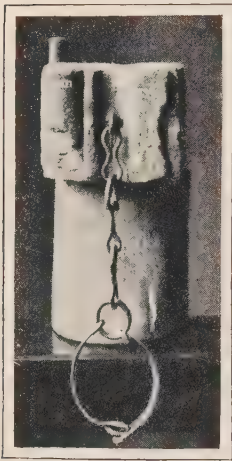
Photo: J. Rutherford, Jarlington.



Photo: G. W. Wilson & Co., Aberdeen.
ELGIN CATHEDRAL.

in a small country where relationships were involved, produced irritating interference. All this bore fruit in the clannishness, long pedigrees, laxity in marriage customs, and illegitimacy which are still the stock humours of English satire when it notices Scottish subjects. The reformed clergy warred against this with the cuck-stool, the ducking-pond, the penance-pillar, excommunication, and fines for behoof of the poor. In the process manners were made rough, and the public taste blunt. For scolds and profane swearers

they had equally severe measures, but here the whole spirit of the age was against them. Lindsay and Dunbar show a wonderful variety of oaths, yet the *Three Estates* was acted before the Court. Dunbar's *Dance in the Queen's Chamber* is but a piece of licentious buffoonery. James VI. was accused by the Kirk of being "blottit wi' bannin' and swearin'."



JOUGS.

(National Museum of Scottish Antiquities.)

Culture.

As bright spots amid the gloom of those troublous times one welcomes Edward Tylney's loving picture of Wishart's saintly simplicity, or that of old Lethington, as sketched by his son, the great Secretary. High up among the Moorfoots, in his grim fortalice of Thirlstane, amid the dreary brown moorland, he led a life of cultured retirement, surrounded by his books, writing and versifying in a vein of shrewd observation, pawky humour, or Polonius-like wisdom. Another beautiful character is that of the Edinburgh burgess, good George Bannatyne, retiring to Meikle "in time of pest" (1568), to complete his labour of love, his collection of Scottish poetry. The book clubs which bear the names of Maitland and Bannatyne will ever keep the memory of these men green. Amid still more unfavourable conditions, Hugh Rose, baron of Kilravock, gained singular repute as an improver and planter of trees as well as a translator of the classics. When the king asked him (1587) how he could live amongst such turbulent neighbours as the men of Badenoch, the sage

said the position was the best he could have, for it made him thrice a day go to God on his knees when maybe otherwise he would not have gone once. We have even pretty glimpses of child-life, as that of Mary Stuart's baby son at play with his Jock o' Sclaitts (John Erskine, afterwards Earl of Mar), and looking out from the ramparts of Stirling on as fair a scene as Britain has to show. We see him walking up and down—he was then eight—with James Melville, discoursing on *knowledge* and *ignorance*. The Treasurer's accounts tell of his books, the fitting-up of his study, and the "paper buikis" for themes. He had the services of a whipping-boy, too, though stern pedagogues like Buchanan and Peter Young



STOOL OF REPENTANCE.

(National Museum of Scottish Antiquities.)

disapproved of all vicarious punishment. But the most charming of such pictures is that of James Melville as a boy in his father's manse near Montrose. His father would lay him on his back and play with him, and when asked what ailed him that he could not rise, he would answer, "I am sae fat I may not gang." We can sympathise with his efforts to resist "a bairnlie habit of pyking" (pilfering). His sister read to him Davie Lyndsay; and the postrunner brought from Edinburgh Wedderburn's songs ("The Gude and Godly Ballates") and the stirring news of "Seignour Davies slauchter, of the king's murder, of the queen's taking at Carberry and the Langsyde feild." Altogether, the student cannot too much admire the inimitable vernacular of James Melville's diary, the honesty and kindliness of the author, and the lifelike picture it presents of social Scotland in those days.



JOUGS.

(Attached to the Round Tower, Abernethy.)

P. W.
JOYCE.
Disturbed
Ireland.

AT an earlier page we noted two disturbing influences as traceable in the history of the period which we are now approaching. The first of these—the religious one—began to be felt immediately after the accession of Elizabeth. During the seventeen years from 1536 to 1553 the State religion of Ireland had been changed three times:—Henry VIII. had made himself head of the Church instead of the Pope; Edward VI. had made a change from Catholic to Protestant; and Mary from Protestant to Catholic. There was now a fourth change: Elizabeth made the religion of the State Protestant once more; and it remained so till the Disestablishment in 1869. But these mutations had no effect on the general body of the people: they remained solidly Catholic all through. The officials in Dublin, and these only, changed with the Government each time. In 1560 the Government began to adopt severe punitive measures to force the Catholic people of the Pale to conform. The two Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were brought into play. The Act of Supremacy declared that the Queen was spiritual head of the Church; and now officials and clergymen were required to take an oath to that effect on pain of dismissal. The Act of Uniformity commanded all to attend Protestant worship; and heavy fines were inflicted on Catholics who refused to attend. Wherever these laws were enforced the priests had to leave their churches, which were then handed over to the Protestant clergy. But even in the Pale it was found impossible to enforce them to any extent; and in most other places no attempt at all could be made.

The
O'Neill
Rising.

Within the period covered by this chapter there were two serious rebellions. The first was that of Shane O'Neill—"John the Proud"—the powerful prince of Tyrone, in Ulster. His first cause of quarrel was the arrest of his father, the first Earl of Tyrone, by the Government in 1551; and for ten years expedition after expedition was sent northwards by the deputies to reduce him, but he baffled them all. At length he made a friendly visit to London on the Queen's invitation, and peace was made in 1562; but soon after his return, incensed by some unfair treatment he experienced at the hands of the Government while he was

1584]

in their power in London, he broke out again. War and negotiation went on for some years; till at length he was defeated and ruined, not by the Government, but by his neighbours the O'Donnells. He rashly fled for refuge to the Scots of Antrim, whose enmity he had earned some time before by defeating them in battle; and by them he was assassinated at a feast in 1567. As to the manner in which he had, during his active life, governed his principality, the English historian, Campion, bears very favourable testimony.

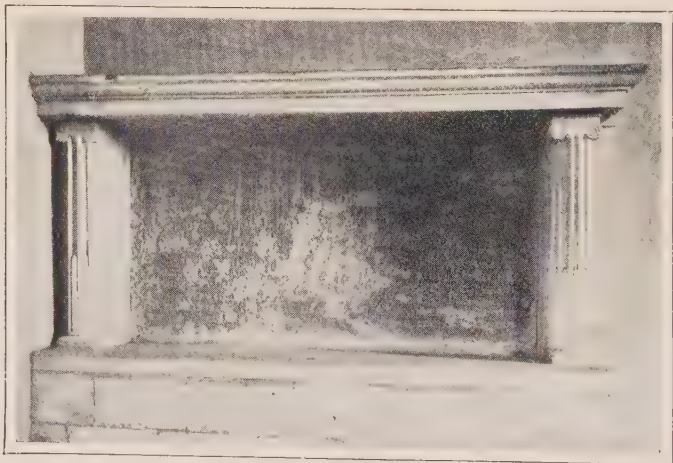
The next was the Geraldine or Desmond Rebellion, which was brought about partly by threatened extensive plantations, and partly by the efforts made to force the Reformation. The Fitzgeralds were the chief leaders in this; and they were joined by most of the principal men of Munster, both of Irish and of English descent, to all of whom the Government had made themselves odious by needless harshness. James Fitzmaurice, the Earl of Desmond's first cousin, was the leader in the first stage, which lasted from 1569 to 1573, when he was forced to surrender. After a lull of six years, the rebellion again broke out in 1579. In that same year Fitzmaurice was killed, when the Earl of Desmond himself, goaded at last into rebellion by the authorities, took the lead; and for four years more Munster was convulsed. The war was carried on all through with great barbarity. Both sides burned and destroyed the districts of their adversaries; and in addition to this the Government troops, as they traversed the country hither and thither, hunted up and killed the unoffending peasantry everywhere, sparing neither age nor sex. In 1580 the insurrection blazed up in Leinster, where the deputy, Lord Grey of Wilton, was badly defeated in a Wicklow defile by Viscount Baltinglass and Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne. Soon after, in the same year, a detachment of 700 Spaniards and Italians landed in Munster to aid the Irish; but they were besieged in their fort at Smerwick and forced to surrender by Lord Grey, who had them all massacred on the spot in cold blood. His sanguinary cruelties went on till the Queen intervened and recalled him. The Earl of Desmond was killed in 1583, and the rebellion, which for some time had been merely flickering, came to an end.

The
Desmond
Rising.

It had made Munster a desert; famine and pestilence followed the war, for all food had been destroyed; and nothing can be more appalling than Edmund Spenser's description of the country, and of the miseries of those of the peasantry who survived.

**The Clear-
ances.**

During the reign of Queen Mary the plan had for the first time been adopted of clearing off the native tribes from whole districts, by expulsion or extermination, to make room for English and Scotch settlers. But the natives resisted, and defended their homes with desperation; and the settlers had to fight for their lives and for their newly acquired possessions from the beginning, aided, however, in their work of extermination by Government forces. During the twenty years from 1556 to 1576 plantations were attempted in the present Queen's County and County Antrim—this latter by the first Earl of Essex. But though the planters committed frightful atrocities, both attempts in great measure failed. The plantations continued altogether for about a century and a half. Besides incalculable misery and loss of life to both sides, they were the chief cause of the great rebellion of 1641. They left to posterity a legacy of strife and hatred; and their evil effects are felt even to this day.



TOMB OF LORD GREY DE WILTON.

(Whaddon Church, Bucks.)

AUTHORITIES.—1558-1584.

GENERAL HISTORY.

Froude, *History of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*; D'Ewes, *Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth*; Hallam, *Constitutional History of England*; Lingard, *History of England*; Henri Martin, *Histoire de France depuis les temps les plus reculés*; Ranke, *History of England Principally in the Seventeenth Century*; the *Calendar of the MSS.* at Hatfield House.

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Religion.—Strype, *Lives of Parker and Grindal* (Oxford ed., 1821), and *Annals of the Reformation*; the publications of the Parker Society (especially Jewell's *Works*, the *Liturgical Services of Elizabeth*, Nowell's *Catechism*, Becon's *Works*, etc.; occasional references in Froude's *History of England*; Blunt, *History of the Reformation*, Vol. II.; Perry, *History of the Church of England*, II., pp. 269-359; the *Homilies* (ed. 1676, or that of the Parker Society).

Architecture and Art.—Lottie, *Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren*; Gotch, *Renaissance of Architecture* (1894); Blomfield, *The Work of Inigo Jones*, in the *Portfolio* for 1889; articles on artists mentioned in the text in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; T. L. Probert, *History of Miniature Art*. See also the list given at the end of Chap. IX. *Coins*, as in C. IX.

Magic, Astrology, and Alchemy.—A very good notion of popular ideas on alchemy, witchcraft, etc., may be obtained from such sources as Jonson's *Alchemist*, Stow's *Chronicles*, and collections of tales such as Mrs. Lynn Linton's *Witch Stories*. A student of the subject may, starting from this, go on to the *Malles Maleficarum*, Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, and the numerous seventeenth-century treatises on the subject. The works on alchemy of this period are for the most part in MS. Babsee, Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, 1635; M. Casaubon, *True Relation concerning Dr. Dee*, 1659; *Dr. Dee's Private Diary*, ed. Halliwell (Camden Society); Smith, *Alchemy*.

Natural Science.—No complete history of English science separately has apparently been written. The history of science in Europe generally is treated of in Whewell, *History of the Inductive Sciences* and *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*. See also biographies in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and *Dictionary of National Biography*. Useful information as to the history of scientific ideas may be found in the introduction to Prof. Fowler's edition of Bacon's *Novum Organum*. Students who wish to go further must be referred to the original treatises themselves.

Literature, 1558-1603.—The chapters dealing with the subject in the works on English Literature of Craik, Taine, Arnold, Minto, and Chambers; Morley, *English Writers*, Vols. VIII.—X.; Saintsbury, *Elizabethan Literature*; A. W. Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*; Symonds, *Predecessors of Shakespeare*; C. H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, and the works of the several authors named in the text.

Agriculture.—Tusser, *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, 1573 (best modern ed. Mavor's, 1812). Barnaby Googe translated, with large additions, Heresbach's *Four Books of Husbandry* (1577). In the *Profitable Art of Gardening* (1568), by Thomas Hill, will be found the earliest English treatise on the *Right Ordering of Bees*. Reginald Scot, in his *Perfitte Platforme of a Hoppe Garden* (1574), was the first writer on the cultivation of hops. Leonard Mascall laid the foundation of the grazier's art in his *Government of Cattel* (1605). John Gerard's *Herball* is of importance (no modern edition). *Modern Books*.—J. E. Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, and *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*; Sir F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor*; Drake, *Shakespeare and his Times*; Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*; R. M. Garnier, *History of the English Landed Interest*; R. E. Prothero, *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*.

Industry and Commerce.—Hamilton, *Quarter Sessions from Elizabeth to Anne*; Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Book I., C. x.; Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*; Jacob, *History of the Precious Metals*; Harrison, *Description of England*; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*; Stow, *Survey of London*, 1598; Camden, *Elizabeth*; Dowell, *History of Taxes and Taxation*; Moens, *The Wallons*; Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*. See also list appended to Chap. IX.

Public Health.—As in Chap. IX.

Elizabethan Society.—The chief separate work is H. Hall's *Society in the Elizabethan Age*; but a great deal is to be found scattered about in the innumerable editions of, and works upon, Shakespeare.

Manners and Costume, 1559-1642.—Harrison, *Description of England, 1577-1587*; Stubbes, *Anatomy of the Abuses in England*, 1583 (both ed. by F. J. Furnivall for the New Shakspere Society, 1877); Harrington, *Nugae Antiquae*, ed. Park; Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James I.*, 1865; Drake, *Shakespeare and his Times*, 1867; Dekker, *Gull's Horn Book*, 1609 (Arber's reprints); Gosson, *School of Abuse*, ed. Collier (1841); *Pleasant Quips*, 1595; Prynne, *Histriomastix*; *Healthes*; *Sicknesses*; *The Unloveliness of Lovelocks*; Tracts in the Roxburgh Library and the Harleian Miscellany; Lodge, *Illustrations of British History from Henry VIII. to James I.*; Chamberlain, *Letters* (Camden Soc.); various Satires, e.g. Marston, *Scurge of Villany*; Sir John Davies, *Epigrams*; Donne's *Satires*; George Wither, *Abuses Stript and Wlipt*; Rowlands, *Humourous Looking Glass* (Hunterian Club, 1872); Pilkington, *Works*, 1585 (Parker Society's ed.); Babington, *Works*, 1585; Nicholas Ferrar's *Life*, ed. J. E. B. Mayor; Walton, *Lives of Dr. Donne, Hooker, Wotton, Herbert, and Bishop Sanderson*; Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.* (1725); Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James I.*, 1865; Edward Smith, *Foreign Visitors in England*, 1889.—*Dress*: Fairholt, *Costume in England*; Strutt, *Dress and Habits of the People of England* (1796); O'Donoghue, *Descriptive Catalogue of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*; Stow, *Annales*, ed. Howes, 1631; Catalogues of the Tudor and Stuart Exhibitions.—*Sports*: Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, 1838; James I., *The Book of Sports* (Arber's reprints), and *Basilicon Doron* (Roxburghe Club); Drake, *Shakespeare and his Times* (1817); Brand, *Popular Antiquities*.—*Tobacco*: James I., *Counterblast to Tobacco* (Arber's reprints); Fairholt, *Tobacco: its History and Associations*.—*London Life*: Stow, *Survey of London*, 1598, enlarged by Strype, 1720; H. B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*; Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*; notes to Furnivall's ed. of Harrison (see above).—*Cookery*: Hazlitt, *Old Cookery Books*.—*Ornamental Gardening*: Hazlitt, *Gleanings in Old Garden Literature*; Bacon, *Essay on Gardens*.—*The Court*: Aikin, *Courts of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.*; Birch, *Memoirs of the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.*; Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*; Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth and James*; Green, *Lives of the Princesses*; M. S. Hume, *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth*.

Scotland (1513-1603).—*General History*: (a) *Contemporary*: Register of the Privy Council, Hamilton Papers, Register of the Great Seal, Exchequer Rolls, etc., published in the series of *Chronicles and Memorials of Scotland*; Thorpe's *Calendar of State Papers*, 1509-1603, Publications of the *Burgh Record Society*, and the *Scottish History Society* during the period. Diarists were numerous during those stirring times; cf. e.g. Sir Ralph Sadleir's *Correspondence*, 1539-1570; Scotstarvet, *Staggering State of Scots Statesmen*, 1550-1650; Bannatyne's *Transactions*, 1570-1573; Moyse's *Memoirs*, 1572-1581; *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents*, 1513-1575 (Bannatyne Club); Birrell, *Diary*; also Buchanan's *History* to 1583. Bellenden's translations of Boece and the histories of Major (trans. published by Scottish History Society) and Bishop Lesley belong to this period. (b) *Modern*: The general histories of Taylor, Tytler, and Burton; also of P. Hume Brown (Cambridge Historical Series) and A. Lang. Of the works dealing with Mary Queen of Scots, the chief are—Robertson, *Mary Stuart*, Skelton, *Maitland of Lethington*; J. Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 1888; S. Cowan,

Mary Queen of Scots and *Who Wrote the Casket Letters*, 1901; L. Lang, *Maria Stuart*; and D. Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots, from her birth to her flight into England*. Malcolm Laing's and Robert Chambers' works on James VI. are important. In Prof. Mason's *Edinburgh Essays* are some picturesque sketches of the time.—*Religion*: Contemporary accounts are Knox's *History of the Reformation*; the anonymous *Book of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, 1560–1618. *Modern*: Herkless, *Life of Cardinal Beaton*; McCrie, *Life of Knox*.—*Social Life*: Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, begins with 1561; cf. also Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*; Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, and the *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton* (1494–1503).—*Literature* (see also list appended to Chap. IX.) The notable collections of *Ancient Scottish Poems* by George Bannatyne and Sir Richard Maitland belong to this time, as also the anonymous *Gude and Godly Ballates*.—*Language*: Jamieson, *Scottish Dictionary*; Murray, *Dialects of the South of Scotland*.

Ireland.—See list appended to Chap. X.: also the *Carew Papers*, and Hamilton *Calendar*; *Annals of Camden and Ware*; histories of Ireland by Moryson and Campion; and O'Sullivan, *Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniciæ Compendium* (ed. 1850)

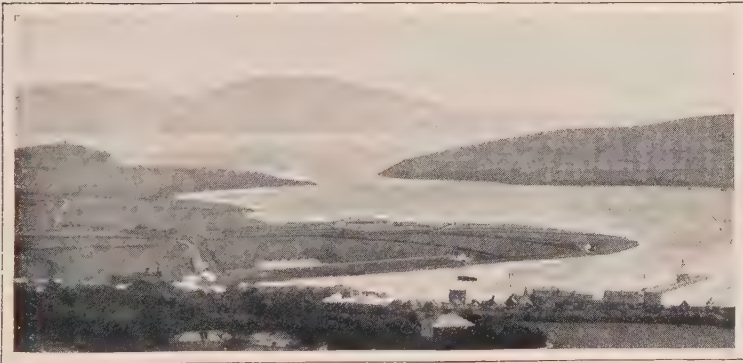


Photo: W. Lawrence, Dublin.

VIEW OVER DINGLE HARBOUR, KERRY.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND.

A. HASSALL.
England
and
Europe.

WITH the year 1584 the great crisis of Elizabeth's reign approached, and the struggle with Spain could no longer be postponed. Cecil and the Queen's ablest counsellors had urged her to enter upon that struggle shortly after her accession, but Elizabeth's characteristic caution had prevailed, undoubtedly to the advantage of England. Since 1572 England had found in France a valuable ally, and the Huguenots had failed to gain any vigorous support from the English Government. By aiding to maintain a balance between the Guises and Henry of Navarre, Elizabeth had saved Henry III. from becoming the mere instrument of the League, and had enabled France to remain a counterpoise to the Court of Madrid. In June, 1584, the Duke of Anjou, the last hope of the Valois line, died, and his death produced an important change in the political world.

Henry of Bourbon, the Huguenot King of Navarre, was now the next heir to the Crown, and though Henry III. would willingly have recognised his claim, the Guises and the League were too strong for him, and, supported by Philip, began an agitation for the extirpation of heresy in France and the Netherlands, and for the exclusion of Henry of Navarre from the French throne. A bitter religious war in France became inevitable, and with its outbreak the alliance between Elizabeth and Henry III. was doomed. Elizabeth's relations with Philip had at the same time undergone a serious change. The discovery of Throgmorton's plot had been followed, early in 1584, by the expulsion of Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, but though that event had not caused the outbreak of war, the murder of William of Orange, on July 10th, tended in the direction of hostilities; Elizabeth found herself being forced into the position of defender of

the French and Dutch Protestants, and declared antagonist of Spain. Early in 1585 the Dutch appealed to her for assistance, while in France Henry III., by the compact of Nemours (July), agreed to all the demands of the League, and the country was plunged into its last great war of religion. Elizabeth had thus lost the French alliance, Spain's attitude was threatening, the fate of the Netherlands hung in the balance. The Dutch alliance alone remained, and the Dutch desired to be united to the English Crown and definitely offered Elizabeth the sovereignty of the United Provinces. But Elizabeth refused at first to take any decisive action. She hoped that Philip would, even now, consent to make adequate concessions to the Dutch, and so render unnecessary the English intervention. She made, however, a treaty with the Dutch in 1585, but at the same time entered upon peace negotiations with Parma, which continued till 1588. While Drake was plundering Vigo and the West Indies, Leicester was sent, at the beginning of 1586, to the assistance of the Dutch, and received the powers and title of Governor-General. Though Elizabeth still hoped to induce Philip to agree to a compromise, her open intervention in the Netherlands, coupled with Drake's plundering expedition, destroyed all chance of peace with Spain. Philip's policy was to put down the Dutch rebellion, to neutralise France, and then to conquer England. France was, indeed, neutralised, but though Parma had taken Antwerp, though Leicester's expedition effected little, and though the battle of Zutphen, which resulted in the death of Sir Philip Sidney, was followed by the capture of Zutphen by the Spanish general, Philip determined, in view of the power of the English at sea, to defer the suppression of the Dutch rebellion till after the invasion of England.

In England the discovery of Babington's plot to assassinate Elizabeth brought home to all Englishmen the danger in which the Queen stood. The plot had the support of Mendoza, now in Paris, and the invasion of England by Parma was expected. Mary Stuart was implicated, and in deference to the opinion of Elizabeth's advisers, the Scottish Queen was executed on February 8th, 1587. Her execution reduced the number of Elizabeth's enemies at home. The majority of the Catholics ceased to work for the restoration of the old religion, and

The Re-
ligious
Struggle.

though a small Jesuitical faction might still desire to see Philip king of England, the Catholics as a body rallied round the Queen, and supported heartily the cause of national independence. Philip II., after Mary's execution, at once claimed the crown of England as the descendant of John of Gaunt, and made elaborate preparations for the invasion of England.

The War
with
Spain.

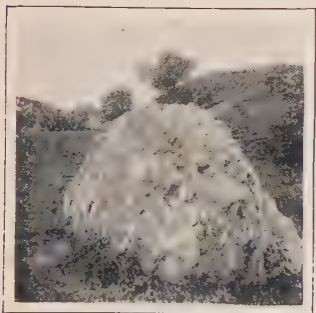
With 1587 war with Spain definitely began. In the spring Drake successfully destroyed so many ships and such an amount of stores in the harbours of Cadiz and Corunna that an invasion of England that year was rendered impossible. Philip's object in making his enormous preparations for the conquest of our island was not only to overthrow Protestantism, and to put an end to the assistance given by England to the rebellious Netherlanders, but to check for ever the attacks on his colonies and commerce by the audacious and piratical English adventurers.

W. LAIRD
CLOWES.
The
Armada.

IN 1588 Philip completed his preparations for attacking the country which alone seemed to stand in the way of the accomplishment of his ambitions—religious, political, and commercial. He had previously caused to be made and transmitted to him the best charts which had then been constructed of the British coasts and ports; he had collected as many vessels of war as possible from the Mediterranean, and he had taken the precaution of inducing the leading German and Italian ship-owners to send away their best craft on long voyages, or to otherwise put them beyond the reach of his foes, in case the nation which he wished to crush should be minded to hire and fit them for defensive purposes. As Coliber observes: "The power of Spain, after the conquest of the Moors of Granada by Ferdinand, who, by his marriage with Isabella, had united the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, became very considerable. But the Spanish navigation and sea forces were soon prodigiously increased by the acquisition of Naples and the best part of America, which was discovered in his time; after which the noble victory of Lepanto, gained over the Turks by Don Juan of Austria, added much to the power, but more to the reputation, of the Spanish fleets." All this power, backed by all this reputation, was to be hurled against England. Besides a great number of galleys—a type of



WINGFIELD MANOR, DERBYSHIRE.



FOTHERINGAY CASTLE.



BORTHWICK CASTLE.



ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCHE CASTLE, LEICESTERSHIRE.

war-ship previously unseen save in the Mediterranean—Philip assembled all the available galleons, or large ocean-going vessels, of his extensive dominions, and also all the galleasses. These last corresponded to some extent with the frigates of more modern days, since they occupied a position midway between the galleons, or line-of-battle ships, and the galleys, or fast light craft, and combined some of the advantages of both. They had lofty and formidably armed bows and sterns; but they had also three banks of oars, and at Lepanto they had significantly demonstrated their value.



SCENES FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ARMADA.

(From Playing Cards in the British Museum.)

The fleet which at length made rendezvous in the Tagus in May, 1588, consisted of 132 vessels of these three classes, and about forty transports, tenders, and storeships, the whole manned, according to what appears to be the most trustworthy Spanish account, by upwards of 7,400 seamen, 18,800 soldiers, 500 volunteers, and a number of galley-slaves. The commander-in-chief of this great force was Don Alfonso Perez de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia. The English ships available were more in number, but of much less aggregate

tonnage. The Armada sailed on May 29th; but, encountering bad weather, and being badly handled, was scattered, and had to make a new rendezvous at Corunna, so that it did not enter

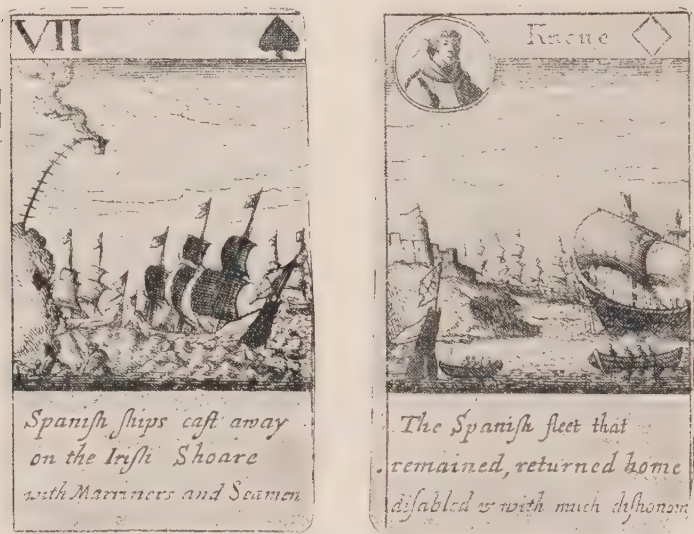


THE ENGLISH AND SPANISH FLEETS OFF CALAIS.

(Ubuldino's Map of the course of the Armada, 1590.)

the English Channel until July 19th. Its motions and its fortunes need not be here followed in detail. It will suffice to say that, intelligence of its approach having been carried into

Plymouth, it was promptly followed thence on its course up Channel by the English fleet under Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, and was on July 21st brought to partial and indecisive action. The English continued to chase, and the battle was renewed on the 22nd, when Drake captured the great galleon of Don Pedro de Valdez, freighted with bullion and stores worth 55,000 gold ducats. Another galleon, that of Don Miguel de Oquendo, was burnt, and a third was driven upon the French coast, where she was lost. On the 23rd, off



SCENES FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ARMADA.

(From Playing Cards in the British Museum.)

Portland, there was another partial action, in the course of which the English made several prizes. On the 24th English reinforcements from London reached the fleet; but there was only a distant engagement. On the 25th, off the Isle of Wight, there was a furious fight, in which a small English craft, commanded by one Cock, was sunk in the midst of the Spanish ships, many of which suffered badly. The enemy, thus harried, made for Calais Roads (*cf.* p. 300). There, on the 28th, the English attacked them with fire-ships, and so alarmed them that, although it was blowing a gale, they cut their cables

and drove away in great confusion. Some fouled one another; others ran ashore, or upon the Flanders sands. On the 29th there was a final engagement off Gravelines; after which the Spaniards, conscious that the game was up, and that return by the route by which they had come was impossible, made sail into the North Sea, with the intention of rounding Scotland and Ireland, and so getting home. The weather was very bad, and, although the English soon ceased to chase, the flying foe fared so ill that, after suffering terrible vicissitudes, but fifty-three ships of the great Armada ever reached their ports. Spain had experienced a disaster which was fully as destructive to her naval power as Lepanto had been to the Turkish.

AFTER the failure of the Armada Elizabeth's years of triumph begin. The country advanced in wealth and prosperity, manufactures increased, the growing of corn became again profitable. The wealth and prosperity of the nation was due in great measure to the successful war with Spain, which continued till James's accession, as well as to the outburst of energy and enterprise which characterised the reign of Elizabeth. Till the end of the century the Queen, freed from all fear of attack, was enabled to carry on a successful foreign policy, and to insist upon the adoption of the "middle way" in religious matters, though she was forced to recognise the rising importance of the House of Commons.

The destruction of the Armada enormously enhanced the reputation of England in Europe. Henceforward Englishmen attacked the Spaniards all over the world. In 1592 Drake and Sir John Norris determined to free Portugal from Spain. They sacked part of Corunna, but failed to take Lisbon. Having burnt Vigo and plundered the surrounding country, they returned home with a considerable amount of booty. In 1596 Essex, together with Howard of Effingham and Raleigh, attacked Cadiz, then the principal port of Spain. The town was sacked, a large number of ships burnt, and the expedition returned, having dealt a very heavy blow at Spain and relieved England from all fears of invasion. The unwieldy Spanish monarchy, assailed thus successfully by the English, found no compensation in the French schemes of Philip II.

A. HASSALL.
The
Results
of the
Victory.

Alliance
with
France.

Henry III. had been murdered in 1589, and Philip had indulged in the wild hope of securing the French crown. Elizabeth, recognising that the cause of Henry IV. was her own, in 1589 and in 1591 sent him men and money; the old alliance between England and France was renewed, and when Henry, in 1593, declared himself a Catholic, Philip was forced to recognise the failure of his plans and to conclude the Peace of Vervins (1598) with the French king. Although she never conquered her scruples about aiding revolted subjects against their sovereign, Elizabeth maintained the treaty of 1585 with the Dutch, and the wars between the United Provinces and Spain continued till 1609. In England a strong war party, headed by Essex and Raleigh, urged that a large expeditionary force should be sent to Central America to contest with Spain the trade of the New World. The peace party, headed by Burghley, opposed these ambitious views, and advocated the thorough re-conquest of Ireland and the resumption of the old commercial intercourse with Spain. Elizabeth adopted the views of neither party. No English army was sent to Panama, but the French alliance was renewed in 1589, the Dutch were supported, and private enterprise was encouraged in its attacks on the Spanish empire.

The Re-
ligious
Conflict.

With the disappearance of all danger of Spanish invasion Elizabeth was enabled to turn her attention to the task of ending the divisions which weakened the English Church. The Jesuit attacks had strengthened her resolution of enforcing conformity, and in 1583 Grindal had been succeeded in the archbishopric of Canterbury by Whitgift. He at once set, to work on the lines of Cecil and Parker, and endeavoured to combine the Catholic, Puritan, and Anglican parties, and to induce them to accept a common form of worship. In 1588 appeared the Marprelate Tracts (p. 605). Danger, too, was also to be found in the existence of a small body of irreconcilable Catholics who opposed the government of Elizabeth. The energetic action of Whitgift, aided by the Court of High Commission, checked the growth of Separatism and the efforts of the Jesuit faction, and in 1593 an Act of Parliament imposed severe penalties on all who attended private religious assemblies (p. 593). There is much to be said against the system of persecution levelled against a small section of obscure

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fanatics, who alone were dangerous. It was not sufficiently discriminating, and the army of spies, informers, and priest-hunters had undoubtedly too much power. Penal legislation was distinctly justified by the critical position of affairs between 1570 and 1588, but could not be defended after the



SIR WALTER RALEIGH AND HIS SON.

(From the painting by Zuccherò, by permission of Sir H. Lennard, Bart.)

crisis was over. The Catholics were, however, regarded as the allies of the Pope and of the King of Spain, their religion was looked upon as a menace to the Church and the Government, and no distinction was made between those who were willing to take an oath to defend the Queen against all enemies and those who refused.

Though Elizabeth might favour the Anglican party, she

found that many members of the House of Commons did not approve of the oftentimes oppressive character of the Church Courts, and after 1588 she was compelled to give heed to the voice of the Commons on religious as well as on political questions.

Crown
and
Commons.

As soon as the Armada had been destroyed a new spirit was visible among the members of the Lower House, and 1588 may be regarded as the beginning of that struggle between the Crown and Parliament which lasted for a hundred years, and was not concluded till William III. ascended the English throne. The growth of wealth and the increase of prosperity produced a spirit of independence among the country gentry—who were for the most part moderate Churchmen, and whose sons formed the bulk of the Puritan party during the Civil War period. Puritanism itself developed independence of character among the younger generation, already stirred up by the struggle with Spain. The country gentry, too, trained to business as justices of the peace, were now accustomed to discuss the affairs of the country. The House of Commons, thus strengthened, could speak with authority when the Queen came to them with demands for money. After 1588 Elizabeth's necessities often compelled her to appeal to Parliament for assistance, and Parliament, when asked for extra subsidies, grumbled and pleaded poverty. In the famous debate on monopolies in the last Parliament of the reign (1601), which was summoned to grant supplies for the Irish wars, the Commons complained that the prerogative was being exercised with regard to monopolies in a way prejudicial to the public interests. Like some of her predecessors, Elizabeth knew when to yield, and she agreed to stop all such monopolies as were injurious. When the Commons came to express their thanks she made some characteristic remarks. "I have more cause to thank you all than you me," she said; "for had I not received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lap of an error, only for lack of true information. I have ever used to set the last judgment-day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged to answer before a higher Judge—to whose judgment-seat I do appeal, that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good. Though you have had,



TOMB OF LORD BUGHLEY, STAMFORD BARON, NORTHANTS.

Elizabeth's
Death
and Work.

and may have, many princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat, yet you never had, or ever shall have, any that will be more careful and loving." Many of her trusted counsellors died before her. Drake died in 1595, Burghley in 1598. In 1601, Essex, who was found guilty of treason, was executed. In 1603 the Queen herself died, indicating James, King of Scotland, as her successor. She had found England weak and distracted, torn with religious divisions, and unable to defend itself against foreign foes. She left it strong and united. Aided by Burghley and Walsingham in her Council, and by Drake, Frobisher, and Raleigh at sea, she had warded off the attack of the great king of Spain, and launched England on a career of maritime and colonial expansion which is being steadfastly pursued at the present day.

P. W.
JOYCE.
The
English
in Ireland.

AFTER the suppression of the Desmond rebellion a large part of Munster was confiscated; and in 1586 another Plantation was entered on. Extensive tracts were granted to various English "undertakers," who were to import settlers. But the settlers did not come in sufficient numbers; and after the usual fighting and bloodshed, the general result of this Plantation was to displace nearly half the native gentry, and to substitute English proprietors: the great majority of the people remained undisturbed. Two of the undertakers are well known—Sir Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser the poet.

The
O'Neill
Rebellion.

This period is specially distinguished by the O'Neill rebellion. Hugh O'Neill, afterwards Earl of Tyrone, was educated among the English, and began his active life in the Queen's service. For a long time after he had become earl and chief of Tyrone, he retained his command in the English army, and continued friendly to the Government, without any designs of rebellion; but partly on account of the measures taken to repress Catholic worship, and partly through his efforts to regain all the ancestral power of his family in Ulster, his relations with the Government became gradually less friendly. The bitter and exasperating hostility of Sir Henry Bagenal, Marshal of Ireland, whose sister he had married, greatly helped to precipitate matters; till at length, in 1595,



FUNERAL CAR OF QUEEN ELIZABETH (MS. Rothschild xv.).

he broke out into open rebellion. A short time before this, the O'Donnells of Tirconnell, who had long been on the side of the Government, were turned into bitter enemies by a dishonourable act of the deputy, Sir John Perrott. Without any justification, but merely to secure a hostage, he treacherously seized young Hugh Roe (Red Hugh) O'Donnell, the chieftain's son, and incarcerated him in Dublin Castle. Four years afterwards O'Donnell escaped, entered at once into



Photo: W. Lawrence, Dublin.

RUINS OF KILCOLMAN CASTLE, CORK.

(Edmund Spenser's Residence.)

active rebellion, and subsequently became O'Neill's ablest lieutenant. It should be remarked that, notwithstanding this piece of foul play, Perrott generally treated the Irish fairly.

O'Neill, even in rebellion, was still anxious for peace; and there were truces and conferences in which he always insisted, as a primary condition, on freedom of worship for the Catholics; but this was persistently refused. The war went on; and in several minor engagements he defeated the Government forces. At length, in 1598, Marshal Bagenal marched north from Dublin with an army of over 4,000 men, determined to crush O'Neill, and release the English garrison, at that time closely beleaguered in the fort of Portmore.

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O'Neill resolved to intercept him, and placed his army, which was about equal in number to that of Bagenal, right in the way from Armagh to Portmore, at a spot called the Yellow Ford. Here the Government forces sustained a disastrous defeat by O'Neill. The brave marshal, leading on his men, fell shot through the brain; two thousand of the English army were killed, including nearly all the chief officers; and the whole of the arms and stores fell into the hands of the



Photo: Guy & Co., Ltd., Cork.

RALEIGH'S HOUSE, TROUGHAL.

victors. This was the greatest overthrow the English ever sustained in Ireland. Almost the whole country was now in successful revolt; in 1599 the Queen took vigorous measures, sending over the Earl of Essex with an army of 20,000 men. But he totally mismanaged the war, dissipated his fine army, and after a disastrous campaign of half a year, left the country rather worse than he found it.

After the arrival, in 1600, of Lord Mountjoy as deputy, and of Sir George Carew as President of Munster—two very able men—the Irish began to lose ground. Carew directed all his energies against the Munster rebels, taking their

Mountjoy
and
Carew.

castles one after another, and executing the defenders; and by measures equally vigorous and relentless he crushed the southern rebellion. Mountjoy was not less active in the north. While he himself drew off the attention of O'Neill and O'Donnell by an expedition from Dublin, Sir Henry Docwra, with a powerful armament and abundant stores, landed on the shores of Lough Foyle, where he succeeded in building forts and planting garrisons. And O'Neill and O'Donnell, attacked front and rear, had enough to do to defend themselves.

But now the war blazed up again in Munster; for in September, 1601, a Spanish fleet with 3,400 troops, under the command of Don Juan del Aguila, landed in the south to aid the Irish Catholics, and took possession of Kinsale. Mountjoy and Carew, hastily collecting an army, laid siege to the town with 12,000 men; and on the other side O'Neill and O'Donnell marched southwards in mid-winter to aid the Spaniards, and encamped near the English lines. The English were now themselves invested, and unable to procure provisions; and in about three months 6,000 of them perished of cold, hardship, and sickness. At last a combined attack by Irish and Spaniards was secretly arranged, against the better judgment of O'Neill, who was for the surer process of letting the English army melt away. But of this design Mountjoy got timely information from a traitor in the Irish camp; the Spaniards, through some misunderstanding, failed to come forth; and the Irish, attacking at a disadvantage, were utterly defeated. Immediately after this, in the spring of 1602, the Northern leaders retreated to Ulster, and Del Aguila surrendered the town.

The Land
laid
waste.

A characteristic and cruel feature of these Elizabethan wars was the wholesale and systematic destruction of crops and food of every kind all over the country by the Government troops in order to exterminate the peasantry by famine. Carew followed this practice from the beginning; and again was Munster brought to a state almost as dreadful as after the Geraldine rebellion twenty years before. Mountjoy, on his part, continued to employ his officers and men for two whole years in Leinster and Ulster burning homesteads and haggards, and destroying crops, cattle, and all the poor

people's means of subsistence. The famine so carefully planned came in good time, and swept over the whole country, with sickness in its wake; and Ulster was if possible in worse case than Munster. For the most vivid descriptions of the appalling results of this policy we are indebted to Mountjoy himself, and to his secretary, Fynes Moryson. By these means, combined with vigorous military operations of a less uncivilised character, the country was ultimately reduced, and the great O'Neill rebellion came to an end in 1603. The Irish chiefs made submission; and in fulfilment of the conditions of peace O'Neill was restored by the Queen to his title and estates.

JOHN
BROWN.
Puritanism
and Non-
conformity.

CAMDEN assigns the rise of Puritanism in England to the year 1568, a date which may be accepted if we take it as simply marking the time when the leaders of the movement came into open conflict with the Government, and when Puritanism began to make itself felt as a force which must henceforth be reckoned with. Its real origin, however, was much earlier. Indeed, that desire for a more scriptural worship, and that spirit of resistance to sacerdotalism and church ceremonies which constituted the very essence of Puritanism, may be traced back even for centuries before the Reformation. As early as 1165 the Council of Oxford was summoned mainly to deal with thirty weavers in the diocese of Worcester, whose heretical opinions were substantially those of the Puritans of a later time. And it would not be difficult to show that such opinions continued to prevail more or less on to the time of Wycliffe and the Lollards, and thence to the sixteenth century, when the Reformation became an accomplished fact. But while the spirit of Puritanism was the very soul of Protestantism, the name, as the badge of a party, only took its rise in the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign. At first it was applied merely as a nickname for precisianists, but, as in some other cases, this nickname acquired respect from the sterling qualities associated with it, and eventually was accepted as the designation of a party in the country which numbered eminent divines, lawyers, statesmen, soldiers, and even orators and poets in its ranks; which made itself powerfully felt in the great struggle for constitutional

1603]

freedom, and furnished substantial and important elements to the national life.

Puritans
and the
Queen.

On the accession of Elizabeth, the Puritans, relying on her Protestant reputation, were hopeful that she would give weight to their views in the national settlement of religion. But while breaking with the Papacy as completely as her father had done before her, so far as legislation was concerned, in other respects she showed herself averse to their views and to such changes as they desired in the ceremonial of the Church. Though no theologian and despising disputation, she was an uncompromising disciplinarian. She regarded the Church of England as her own Church, over which her personal authority was supreme, and she cared for order, pomp, and appearance in religion as in other things. It is certain she was the formative power in matters ecclesiastical. The most prominent bishops and divines were, in the early part of her reign, in close sympathy and friendly intercourse with the Swiss Reformers, by whom many of them had been hospitably received in the days of exile under the Marian persecution, and they would willingly have made concessions to the Puritans at home. Jewell, who may be taken as a representative bishop during this earlier period, wrote to his friend Bullinger at Zurich, in 1566, saying: "I wish that all, even the slightest, vestiges of Popery might be removed from our Church, and above all from our minds. But the Queen at this time is unable to endure the least alteration in matters of religion."

Differences between Elizabeth and the Puritans came to open conflict on the promulgation of the orders known as Advertisements (1566: p. 432). These specified the minimum of ceremonial which would be tolerated in the services of the Church. Uniformity was to begin at a given date, deprivation of benefice to follow after three months' refusal of compliance. Proceedings commenced with the London clergy, who were summoned to appear at Lambeth before the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, with others of the Ecclesiastical Commission. The controversy deepened in seriousness as it proceeded, but at first the wearing of the clerical vestments was one of the things most objected to on the part of the Puritans. As those who were summoned entered the court they observed Robert

Cole, a clergyman who had refused at first but had afterwards complied, standing dressed in full canonicals. The Bishop's chancellor, pointing to this man, said to them: "The Council's pleasure is that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel like to this man. Ye that will subscribe write *volo*; ye that will not, write *nolo*." No explanation was permitted, and many who refused were sequestered and afterwards deposed and deprived.

The
Puritan
Resist-
ance.

The deposition of so many ministers left several of the London churches unsupplied with preachers. Meantime, they continued to conduct services with such congregations as gathered to them in secret, both in London and the provinces. Many of their adherents were arrested and sent to prison, but in spite of all attempts at suppression the Puritan revolt grew in strength and determination. A centre was established at Wandsworth, the Presbyterian discipline was elaborately organised both in London and the Midlands, a literature was created which assailed with more and more of vehemence the existing Establishment (p. 612), till at length the hostility, directed at first merely against the use of the vestments and such ceremonial observances as kneeling at the communion and making the sign of the cross at baptism, widened its range and extended itself to the entire episcopal system.

Open conflict having fairly begun, Puritanism took different directions. The main body of the Puritan ministers still remained Conformist, still held Calvinistic opinions, and, using only such ceremonial as they were compelled, still claimed to be faithful members and representatives of the Church. They remained in her communion, not for what she was but for what they believed she was capable of being made. They submitted to many things they did not approve in the hope that better days might dawn, and a simpler and more scriptural system come to prevail. Their desire for ecclesiastical freedom naturally allied them with the party of liberty in Parliament; and the men who succeeded them, inheriting their position and principles, were the men who carried on that struggle with Charles I. and Archbishop Laud, which came to decisive issue at Naseby and on Marston Moor.

Beside these who were Conformists, there were Puritans who were Presbyterians and Puritans who were Independents. These, again, differed from each other in important respects.

Those who were Presbyterians sought to organise the Genevan discipline within the pale of the Church itself; and there came a time when it seemed for a moment as if they might even have some chance of success. In 1571 Thomas Cartwright (p. 594), Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, who, through the influence of Whitgift, then Vice-Chancellor, had been expelled the university for his Presbyterian opinions, issued, in conjunction with others, two addresses to Parliament, under the title of "A First" and "A Second Admoni-

Presby-
terians.



LEYCESTER HOSPITAL, WARWICK.

tion." These addresses were elaborate attacks upon the episcopal system and vigorous assertions of the divine right of the Genevan discipline. Having first exercised that discipline privately for a time, they then took a bolder step. They proceeded to set up their system openly in the parish churches of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, not, however, without some disturbances arising in consequence. In 1580 Cartwright and his friend Travers published the "Book of Discipline," in which the system of Presbyterian government in use at Geneva was adapted to English life, and so introduced as to be in two or three years in working order. The Puritan clergy of a given district were formed into a *classis* or con-

Their
System.

ference, these *classes* to be consolidated into a National Assembly, which was to meet in London at the same time that Parliament was in session. There was to be a consistory in each parish, including lay elders elected for the purpose, but the actual direction of affairs was to be in the hands of the *classis*, which was to decide all points of ceremonial, and determine who were fit candidates for the ministry, giving them the necessary call. The real Presbyterian orders were thus conferred upon the candidate by the *classis*, and he was then to apply to the bishop for the legal rite merely as a matter of form. Thus the Presbyterian system was to work under episcopal arrangements until such time as it was strong enough to supersede them. These men asked, not merely for the toleration of their opinions but for their endowment. Cartwright contended that the existing clergy ought to be reduced to the primitive form, that presbyters only should remain to preach the Word of God, and deacons to care for the poor; that every church ought to be governed only by its own ministers and elders, and that ministers should be openly and freely chosen by the people. "To effect this reformation," he says, "everyone ought to labour in his calling—the magistrate by his authority, the minister by the Word, and all by their prayers."

Their
Aim.

Thus the demand of the men acting with Cartwright was for a National Church framed on the Presbyterian model, and endowed with tithes and ecclesiastical emoluments, while at the same time they rejected the spiritual headship of the sovereign as inconsistent with the teachings of the New Testament. The Presbyterians were the first to contend that their system existed by Divine right. Cartwright assumed that everything was as precisely ordered of God in the Christian Church as in the worship of the Jewish temple. "Is it likely," he asks, "that He who appointed not only the tabernacle and the temple, but their very ornaments, would neglect the very essentials of the Church? Shall we conclude that He who remembered the bars there hath forgotten the pillars here?" His fundamental position, therefore, was that all details of Church government not having express Divine sanction are to be condemned; that whatever is not written is erroneous, and that the practice of the New Testament

Church is as binding in matters of discipline as its teaching is in matters of doctrine.

Those among the Puritans who were known as Independents or Separatists, while agreeing with the Presbyterians in their opposition to the Episcopacy and in their desire to return to the primitive model of Church government as laid down in the New Testament, differed widely from them in other respects. Their starting-point in Church polity was the existence of spiritual life, the personal relation of the individual soul to God; and a church with them was a community made up exclusively of spiritual men. The Presbyterians, while desiring to have government of the Church by presbytery, that is, by the body of ministers and elders in synod and assembly, instead of by diocesan bishops, and while desiring to substitute the Book of the Genevan Discipline for the Book of Common Prayer were, in other respects, as has been seen, in agreement with the main features of the Episcopal system. That is to say, they were in favour of a State Church, and the Church in a given parish ought, in their view, to embrace all the baptised people of that parish whether they were spiritual persons or not. The Independents, on the contrary, strenuously maintained that a Christian Church should be composed exclusively of Christian men. "The kingdom of God," said they, "is not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest, were they never so fewe." Henry Barrowe, writing from the Fleet Prison, in 1590, raises his protest against the unspirituality of the Elizabethan State Church in such words as these: "Never hath all kind of sinne and wickedness more universally raigned in any nation at any time, yet all are received into the Church, all made members of Christ. All these people with all these manners were in one daye, with the blast of Queen Elizabeth's trumpet, of ignorant papistes and grosse idolaters, made faithful Christians and true professors." He protests as earnestly against what he describes as the rash and disorderly proceedings of John Calvin's Presbyterian Church at Geneva as against the mixed constitution of the Episcopal Church at home, for the reason that "at the first dash Calvin made no scruple to receive all the whole State, even all the profane, ignorant people into

Inde-
pendents

Their
View of
Church
and State-

the bosom of the Church," a method of procedure which, he contends, could not possibly "fit with Christ's heavenly government." Taking thus as their fundamental position that the Church visible consists of a company and fellowship of faithful and holy people gathered in the name of Christ, they went on to maintain that a Church so composed is competent for self-government. None were so fit to govern a spiritual community, they held, as spiritual men, who themselves have the guidance and enlightening influence of the Spirit of God. This self-governing power they further regarded not so much as a privilege to be enjoyed, as a sacred trust to be discharged. They went to prison and into exile, and even to the scaffold for these principles, not merely to contend for supposed rights and privileges, but because they believed that Christ had trusted His truth and His laws to the fidelity of all who loved Him; that no Christian man could escape the responsibility which this trust imposed; and that at whatever cost and in the face of whatever peril the responsibility must be discharged.

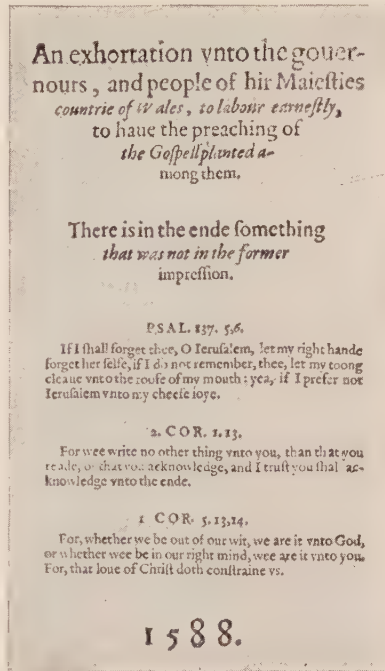
Their
Leaders.

The period when these men actively promulgated their views during the reign of Elizabeth may be roughly stated as between 1570 and 1593. Their leaders during the first half of this period were Richard Fitz, the pastor of a London church, and Robert Browne, and Robert Harrison, who formed a Congregational Church in Norwich in 1580; and the most active promoters of their principles in the second half of this period were Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood, with whom was associated John Penry, the Welsh martyr (p. 614), all of whom suffered death for their opinions in 1593. Robert Browne has often been regarded as the founder of Independency in England, and hence arose the name of Brownists (p. 595). But these people persistently maintained that they were "falsely called Brownists," that while this man at one time forcibly expressed their convictions, he was not their founder. In support of this view there are official documents among the State Papers showing that a Congregational Church was in existence in 1571, and had been for some time, whereas in that year Robert Browne was a mere undergraduate at Cambridge.

The penal laws against Nonconformity, severe before, were

made still more severe by the Conventicle Act of 1593, by which it was provided that all persons above sixteen years of age, being present at unlawful conventicles, should on conviction be committed to prison, there to remain without bail or mainprise, until they made open submission and declaration of conformity at some church or chapel, or usual place of common prayer. The offender who refused to make such public submission within three months of conviction should be compelled "to abjure this realm of England, and all other the Queen's Majesty's dominions for ever." This sternly repressive Act of 35th Elizabeth explains why during the ten years previous to the accession of James I. so many Nonconformists languished in prison, while many were banished, and many more went into voluntary exile.

So far as this branch of Puritanism is concerned, the centre of interest for several years to come lies in the Low Countries, where they were permitted the free exercise of their religion, rather than in their own land, where liberty of conscience was denied them.



TITLE-PAGE TO PENRY'S "EXHORTATION
 TO THE WELSH," 1588.

WITH the death of Grindal in 1583, and the appointment of Whitgift as his successor in the primacy (1583-1604), the conditions of English religion undergo a change. It is with the new archbishop that the Church of England begins clearly to work on an independent system of her own—"midway between Rome and Geneva": it is now that the

CHARLES
 RAYMOND
 BEAZLEY.
 The Re-
 ligious
 Struggle.

persecution of the Extremists starts afresh—the systematic, continuous repression of Puritan Nonconformity within, and Puritan Separatism without, the Church: the High Church party, in the seventeenth century sense, makes its first appearance, or reappearance, in these last few years of the age of Elizabeth: the Erastian conception of Church and State, which had been so dominant throughout the Tudor period, from the beginning of the Reformation Parliament begins to be altered into the Stuart notion of an alliance between two friendly powers, each indispensable to the other.

Whitgift.

Whitgift himself, however, hardly represents the new movement. His churchmanship is more of a repressive than of a constructive kind. He is the enforcer of conformity—not the thinker or leader who brings a young party to the front; and the choice of him as primate after Grindal rather emphasised the Elizabethan Erastianism than showed the beginning of a new era, a new school in English religion. Bancroft, Hooker, and Andrewes were the real chiefs of Anglo-Catholic reaction. In Whitgift, Elizabeth's Government simply meant to have a loyalist archbishop, who would give no trouble with Puritanising scruples like his predecessor, who would carry out the Established system vigorously, and who would support the cause of Anglicanism with a decent show of learning and controversial force.

He had long been the foremost man in Cambridge as Vice-Chancellor and Master of Trinity—where he had borne a prominent part in promoting the expulsion of Cartwright¹ from the Margaret Professorship (1571). In the same year the Queen made him Dean of Lincoln; in 1572, Convocation of Canterbury elected him their Speaker or "Prolocutor": he had been chosen by Parker to answer the Puritan Admonition to Parliament: in 1577 he had become Bishop of Worcester: now—on August 24, 1583, under the Crown's direction—the Chapter of Canterbury elected him primate.

¹ The "man of genius," according to Mr. Froude, whose "apparition" was then "troubling" the University. Perhaps Cartwright's opinions, more even than his genius, may account for some of the opposition to him. "Heretics," said he—and to him heretics were simply those who did not accept the Geneva platform—"ought to be put to death *now* (in answer to those who alleged that a time of grace should be given). If this be bloody and extreme I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost."

He at once devoted himself afresh to the main work of his life—the suppression of Nonconformity, the establishment of the Elizabethan settlement—with the increased vigour given by increased power, but with the same spirit that he had shown at Cambridge and at Worcester.

The opposition was of two kinds: first, the avowed Separ-



Photo: Walker and Cockerell, Clifford's Inn, E.C.

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

atism of the Brownists¹ or Early Independents (p. 592), of the Family of Love, and of the Anabaptists, whose alarming civil doctrines provoked the Government in 1575 and 1579 to burn three of them; secondly, the Nonconformity of the Puritans within the Church, who were determined to reduce the religious Establishment to their own model; who, beginning

¹ Their supposed founder, Robert Brown, or Browne (p. 592), a Norfolk clergyman, related to Lord Burghley, who had published a "Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any, and of the wickedness of those preachers that will not reform themselves because they will tarry till the magistrate command and compel them."

in 1563-7 by formal and organised resistance to the clerical habits, had gone on, in 1572, by the Admonition, to object to the whole of the Prayer Book ceremonial; and now, in 1580, by adopting as their own the Geneva discipline, had openly declared war against the Episcopal government and Catholic framework of the Church and Liturgy. The new Book of Discipline, as drawn up by Cartwright and Travers, was threatening to supersede the Book of Common Prayer within the Church of England itself.

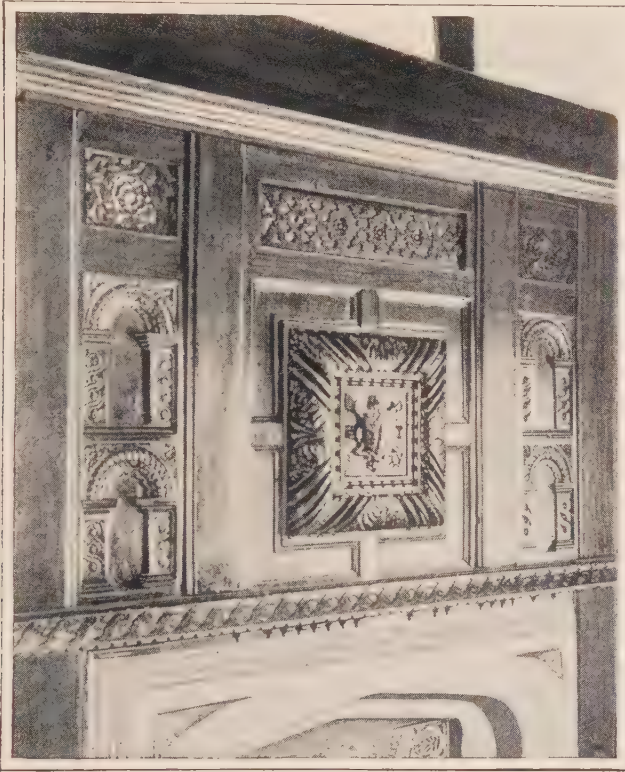
Church
and
State.

The struggle which had raged under Parker, and was now re-opened with far greater sharpness by Whitgift, continued throughout the whole of the seventeenth century down to the Revolution of 1689, and even after this was revived for a short time under Anne. It turned upon the idea of a State-Church in which the whole nation was to be included, for whose good the State as such was to care, outside which no section of the people was to lie, and which was in all respects to represent the nation in its religious aspect. And the great bulk of the Puritan party were just as much committed to this view as the Anglican. Tolerated Nonconformity was not a solution that occurred as even conceivable to the minds of most Englishmen till some time after the Restoration. Toleration, except as a matter of personal indulgence, was as far from nearly all the Parliamentary and Liberal chiefs of the early Stuart time, and of the Great Rebellion, as it was from Charles I., from Strafford, or from Laud.

The power-holding cause, or school, or party, regularly and consistently tried—under Elizabeth, under James and Charles, under the Great Rebellion, in America as in England—to bend all other parties to its will, to produce a uniformity in religion that should answer to the uniformity in the State, and should reflect the mind of the Government for the time being. This was why “new presbyter was but old priest writ large”: this was why, as Matthew Arnold pointed out in “St. Paul and Protestantism,” every one of the Stuart attempts at compromise between Anglican and Puritan was such a hopeless failure: this was why every revision of the Prayer Book failed to satisfy. For the opposition was one which aimed, not at broadening the Church into something that might include an expanding national life, but at narrowing it, forcing it into

the strappings of some particular discipline, just as the giant in the old Greek fable fitted all passers-by into his bed.

The only solution—where one side could not permanently conquer and suppress the other—was a policy of live and let live: but when Whitgift entered upon the struggle, eighty



OVERMANTEL AT WHITGIFT HOSPITAL.

(From a photograph, by permission of the Warden.)

years of desperate, fruitless endeavour, first on one side, then on the other, to enforce an impossible conformity, were still ahead. And the loyalism, the statesmanship of the Tudor time was passing into the dogmatism, the fierce sectarian misunderstandings of the early seventeenth century—when the sectarian spirit, no longer fully controlled by political ideas, by the State, was thrusting its way into politics, producing division within the body of the State itself, and breaking up

for a while that unity which had seemed in thought and action so complete and perfect in the glory of the Elizabethan age, where men like Bacon seemed to themselves to see truth and to see it whole.

The
Articles
of 1583.

Whitgift opened the battle with the Fifteen Articles of 1583,¹ the sixth of which enforced subscription from all the clergy to three main positions of the Elizabethan settlement in religion—the Royal Supremacy, the use of the Liturgy, the soundness of the Thirty-nine Articles.

To secure assent and consent to these clauses, the Ecclesiastical Commission² was now put upon a permanent footing, with fuller powers than before (December, 1583); and the primate himself drew up a series of Twenty-four Articles of Enquiry, on which any one accused of Nonconformity before the Commission was required to purge himself on oath (1584). The excitement thus aroused reached even to Lord Burghley—the one steady Churchman on the Council of State, who yet “found the Articles so curiously penned, that I think the Inquisition in Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their prey”;—it seemed to him a “kind of proceeding too much savouring of the Roman Inquisition, and rather a device to seek for offenders than to reform any.” The archbishop’s carefully tabulated questions and the method of asking them he thought “scarcely charitable.”³ He had “cause to pity the poor men who should have to reply.” From the poor men in question came a perfect outcry. The ministers of Kent and of Suffolk professed in general terms their belief in the Book of Common Prayer, but complained of certain things needing reformation: were they to be suspended for details of such a kind? The Privy Council, always anti-clerical at this

¹ Strype’s Whitgift, Book iii. 2.

² Through which, though intermittently, the Royal Supremacy in things ecclesiastical was normally exercised from the beginning of the reign, when by the Act of Supremacy (1559) the Queen was empowered to exercise her religious authority through commissioners. The High Commission Court, as constituted in 1583, consisted of 44 commissioners, including 12 bishops, with privy councillors, clergymen, and civilians; and their commission, after reciting the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity with two others, directs them to inquire from time to time, by the oaths of 12 good and lawful men, by witnesses and all other means they can devise, of all offences committed contrary to the tenor of the said several Acts and Statutes. (Hallam.)

³ Strype’s Whitgift, iii. 8, gives the archbishop’s defence.

1603]

time, was inclined to listen to the complaints of "high-priestly tyranny" that came pouring in. They summoned Whitgift before them. He declined to be catechised on a "matter not incident to that honourable board," and insisted on the aggrieved ministers appealing to himself. He would save himself as much as he could from Parker's troubles. "It was impossible," he declared, "for him to perform the duty her Majesty looked for at his hands if he might not proceed without interruption."

The archbishop now found himself engaged in a fight with a three-headed enemy; the Council, added to the Separatists and the Puritan Nonconformists, employed the weapons of pamphleteering, libel, and personal intrigue against what, by some of them at least, was believed to be a most dangerous revival of ecclesiastical pretensions. "Came all this about," says the "*Practice of Prelates*" (written and published at this time), "from the rigour of one man? Satan himself had also his finger herein, without all doubt. For what more pernicious counsel could hell itself devise?" As for Whitgift's Articles of Enquiry, what could be the good of them "but for his exercising tyranny upon his fellow ministers, upon a mere ambition, with the starving of many thousands of souls, by depriving them, and discouraging others . . . all because they could not agree to his Popish opinions"? Leicester, Sir Francis Knollys, and Beale (the Clerk of the Council) attacked Whitgift's policy with especial bitterness; Knollys, thinking the "superiority claimed for bishops could by no means consist with the Queen's Sovereignty," demanded that the primate should "retract his claim of superiority from God's own ordinance, without which retractation her Majesty's Supreme Government could neither be salved nor preserved, as he thought."

With the opposition of the Council about to be reflected with greater force in the Parliament summoned for 1584, with old friends like Burghley alienated, the libellers in full cry, the Queen anxious for answers to Puritan objections, and the great danger from Spain and the Catholic reaction still hanging over England and seeming to forbid that open division in English Protestantism which was only excused by the national deliverance of the Armada year, Whitgift offered

The
Lambeth
Confer-
ence.

conciliation, and while justifying himself to Elizabeth, summoned a conference of divines to Lambeth in the autumn of 1584, one of the earliest of a long series of hopeless attempts at compromise, which at least did something to prepare the English mind for the necessity of toleration.

The main support of Nonconformity, Whitgift complained to the Queen, came from the Court: the "greatest number, the most ancient, and the wisest of the clergy," he declared, were conformable enough; the unmanageable were mostly young and foolish.¹ In the Lambeth conference, where disputations were held before Leicester, Gray, Walsingham, and others, both sides, according to their account, as so often happened later, were pathetically certain that the "honourable personages" were highly satisfied with their arguments, and that the opponent had been utterly reduced to silence—it only remained for him to abjure.

In the Parliament which met in November, 1584, the Puritan attack upon Anglicanism found a voice. Some hoped that this session might see the Book of Discipline substituted for the Prayer Book. The Commons were first approached by petitions; then a member, directed by the Council of Ministers outside, was to bring in a Bill for Reformation of the Church, at the same time offering for ratification and statutory approval the Book of the Godly Ministers.²

Now, still more than in 1586, the temper of the House was on the whole plainly favourable to the "further reform" desired by the Puritans, and the progress of the Bill was only stopped by the veto of the Government; the main points of it were urged by the Commons upon the Lords, who were asked to lay the matter before the Queen. The Upper House politely evaded the unpleasant duty.

The
Canons
of 1585.

On the other hand, the primate, besides doing his best as a peer to defeat the consideration of the Commons' petition, now passed a series of canons through Convocation, which received the royal assent on March 23, 1585, and dealt with points insufficiently noticed in the canons of 1576.

¹ Of ten dioceses, there were returned to him the names of 835 preachers: of these 786 were conformable, and only 49 not. Many of the latter also yielded after "admonition." (Strype's Whitgift, App. iii., No. viii.)

² Strype's Whitgift, iii., c. 10.



ROMANIST MACHINATIONS.

(From Contemporary Engravings by C. Danckwerts.)

But though planned on the lines of the Enquiry Articles of 1583, they dealt mainly with practical abuses; one of the most glaring of all—the manner in which the Queen kept sees vacant and pocketed the revenues,¹ they could not touch. Other Puritan Bills brought into the Commons during this session rather annoyed and frightened the Anglican party than seriously threatened them.² The Queen took advantage of the dissolution to delight both parties (each deeply conscious of the other's imperfections) by some stinging remarks upon their opponents. "There were some fault-finders," she began, "with the Order of the Clergy, which so might make a slander to herself and the Church, whose over-looker God had made her, and her negligence thereof could not be excused if schisms or errors heretical were suffered. Some faults might grow, as in other great charges it happened—and what vocation without?" Then, turning upon the Lords of the Clergy, "If they did not amend," she went on, "she was minded to depose them; she bade them henceforth look to their charges. She would not animate Romanism, but neither would she tolerate newfangledness. She meant to guide both by God's true rule."³

On the whole the conservative or Anglican church party weathered the first storm of the new primacy pretty successfully; and by relaxing the subscription test for all but the newly instituted or newly ordained, Whitgift not only gained some credit for conciliation, but a "great increase of ease and quietness." In February, 1586, while Leicester, the Puritan figure-head, was absent in the Low Countries masquerading

¹ Five were being thus treated in September, 1584.

² One of these, aimed at pluralities, was complained of by the clergy in Convocation as one that "impeacheth the prerogative Royal, impairerth the resources of the Crown, overthroweth the study of Divinity, depriverth men of the livings they do lawfully possess, beggarerth the clergy, bringerth in a base unlearned ministry, taketh away all hope of a succession in learning." Cf. Strype, Whitgift, iii. 11.

³ After the prorogation of Parliament, Convocation continued at work, passing Whitgift's new canons, and ordering systematic study on the part of the clergy. Weekly and quarterly exercises were to be composed by all ministers and submitted to the ordinary. (Strype's Whitgift, iii. 12.) The primate at the same time was resisting successfully a project for the revaluation of clerical incomes, which he looked on as a plot for forcing more money from the clergy by raising the value of the tenths and first-fruits paid to the Crown.

1603]

as general of the Netherland insurrection against Philip II. and Alexander of Parma, the archbishop gained admission to the Privy Council, and at the same time the lay element in the same friendly to the Church was strengthened.



THE EARL OF LEICESTER'S ARMOUR.

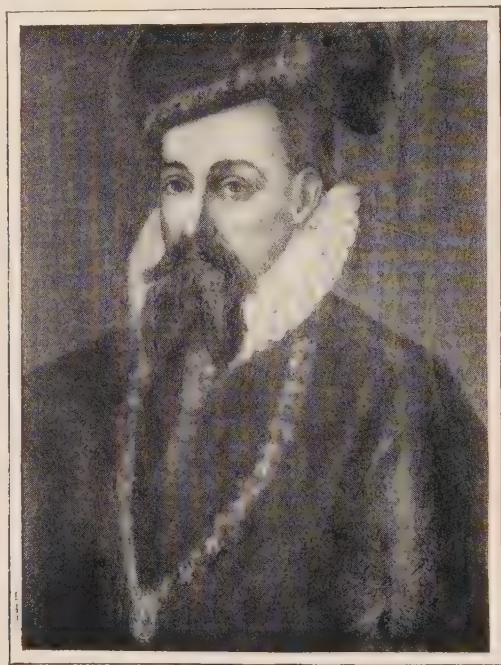
(Tower of London.)

The second struggle of Whitgift's government between the Church and Puritanism, or rather between Anglicanism and Puritanism within the same Church, opened with the reassembling of Parliament in October, 1586. It began with

**The
Conflict
Renewed.**

the Supplication presented to the Commons against the bishops—their neglect of what they ought to have done, their harshness in insisting upon what ought not to be done.

Next, it was moved in the Lower House (February 27, 1587), that all laws then in force touching the ecclesiastical settlement might be repealed, and that the Book (of Discipline) might be adopted as the legal settlement of discipline and



ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.

(*University Library, Cambridge.*)

public worship. But the House was less pliable than in 1584; it refused to allow the Bill embodying the advice of the Supplication to be introduced, and the Queen told the malcontents that their "platform she accounted most prejudicial to the Religion established, to her crown, her government, and her subjects."

Defeated in the Council and in Parliament, driven from their position of constitutional resistance, the Puritan Extrem-

ists now fell back upon the secret nonconformity of the *classis*-system (p. 589), upon the evasions or grudging obedience of earlier times, and upon the literary warfare of scurrilous pamphleteering, which is known to us by the name of Martin Marprelate (p. 612), the *nom de guerre* of a number of the most fanatical of the "nonconformable" ministers, who "for Sion's sake could not hold their peace."

But the ungoverned violence¹ of their attacks did not really advance their cause among the mass of moderate and sensible men, from whom alone a great Puritan party could be built up; an "undoubted reaction against Puritanism marked the end of the sixteenth century,"² as a generation arose which, except in books of controversy, knew nothing of any religion which differed from that of the Church of England; and with the triumph over the Armada, with the breaking up of the thunder-clouds which threatened England with the vengeance of the Catholic reaction, Anglicanism grew less and less inclined to compromise, took in hand more steadily and more successfully the repression of at least the more open and extreme Nonconformity, and began to work out her own distinctive system.

The Marprelate libels, the sign that the advanced Puritans

¹ As Heylin remarks, "They could find no other title for the archbishop than Beelzebub of Canterbury, Pope of Rome, the Canterbury Caiaphas, Esau, a monstrous antichrist, a most bloody opposer of God's saints, a very antichristian beast, most bloody tyrant. The bishops are unlawful, unnatural, false and bastardy governors of the Church, the ordinances of the devil, petty popes, petty antichrists, incarnate devils, bishops of the devil, cogging, cozening knaves, who will lie like dogs: proud, popish, profane, presumptuous, paltry, pestilent, pernicious prelates and usurpers, enemies of God and the State. The clergy are popish priests, monks, and friars, alehaunters, drunkards, dolts, hogs, dogs, wolves, foxes, simoniacs, usurpers, proctors of antichrist, popish chapmen, greedy dogs to fill their paunches, desperate and forlorn atheists, a cursed uncircumcised murdering generation, a crew of bloody soul murderers, sacrilegious church robbers, and followers of antichrist." Nothing excited the Marprelate controversialists more than the clerical Parliament in Convocation. "Right puissant, poisoned, persecuting, and terrible priests, masters of the Confocation House, and the holy league of subscription, the crew of monstrous and ungodly wretches that mingle heaven and earth together; horned monsters of the Conspiracy House, an antichristian swinish rabble, enemies of the Gospel, most covetous, wretched, popish priests; the Confocation House of devils, and of Beelzebub of Canterbury, the chief of the devils."

² Gardiner, "History of England," i. 156.

had been beaten out of the open field, began in 1588; in 1590 (September 1) Cartwright and sixteen others were committed for nonconformity and seditious disturbance; in 1593 the Commons united cordially in carrying out the Queen's request "to compel by some sharp means to a more due obedience those who neglected the service of God."¹ More important still, on February 9th, 1589, Bancroft, in a famous sermon, declared the divine right and office of bishops, rejecting or ignoring all lower or more political claim, and thus put forth the first clear manifesto of the new High Church party.

Noncon-
formity
Punished.

The statute of 1593 threw the burden, though not the odium, of the repression of Nonconformity upon the common-law judges and courts; and by permitting the inflexible to abjure the country it provided an outlet so effectual that the last years of Elizabeth were hardly troubled by religious division on the surface. Most of the advanced dissentients went into Holland; some of the Brownists now even thought of emigrating to Canada, where "they might worship God according to their conscience and do Her Majesty good service against the persecuting Spaniards."²

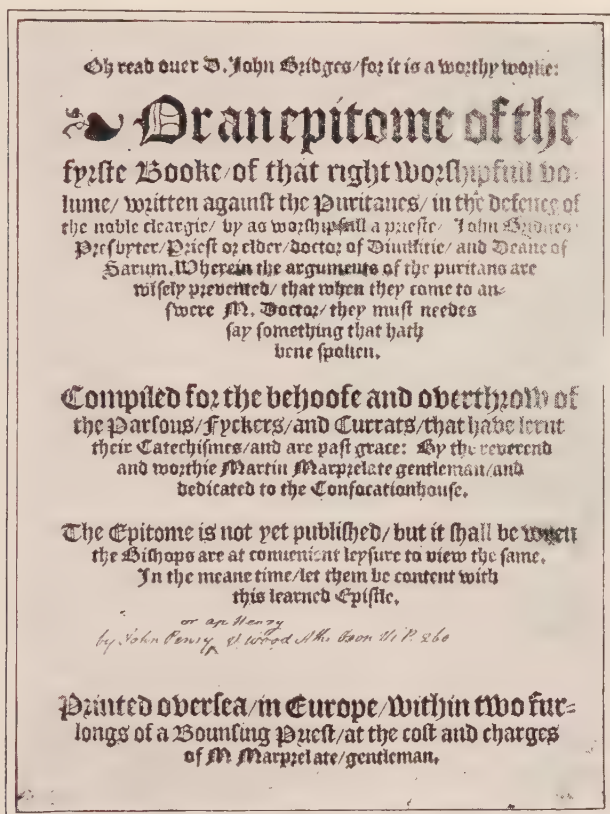
Anglican
Doctrine
Defined.

The real movement of this time in English religion seemed to lie in the practical improvement brought about in the Establishment, in the gradual fixing and elaboration of the Anglican school and its principles. The unconscious Anglo-Catholicism of Parker was now passing into a definite form of creed, which from that time was more and more widely believed to represent most clearly and most historically the real position of the Church of England, the real spirit of her

¹ Those avoiding church for a month together, or¹ attacking the Established religion in writing, were to be "committed to prison without bail or main-prize," and, if they did not submit within three months, to be banished; if they returned without leave, to die without benefit of clergy (35 Elizabeth, c. i.).

² They complained bitterly of the earlier state of things, when they were neither tolerated nor allowed to emigrate: "Some of us they have kept in close prison four or five years with miserable usage; others they have cast into Newgate and laden with as many irons as they could bear; others into dangerous and loathsome gaols among the most facinorous and vile persons, where it is lamentable to relate how many of those innocents have perished within these five years, where so many as the infection hath spared lie in woeful distress: and these have been grievously beaten with cudgels and cast into Little Ease for refusing to come to their chapel service."

religious compromise, the real mind of the Prayer Book. Hooker and Bilson, Bancroft and Saravia, Andrewes and Baro, revolutionised the state of English religion by putting a living soul, an independent life and meaning, into the



TITLE-PAGE OF A MARPRELATE TRACT.

body of that Church which had lately seemed to be the mere creature of the State, an automaton directed by the political power.

Convocation was kept steadily at work during these years: Whitgift, as the Lambeth Articles showed, did not understand the new shape in which the Catholic Reaction had taken root in England—in the very heart of a Church which he with

most men still supposed to be dogmatically Calvinist; but, at any rate, he was resolute in perfecting the machinery of Church government. Like Laud, he wished before all else to see an ordered uniformity, to have a discipline which his conservative instincts could recognise as such. So, after ratifying the Canons of 1585, and passing the new rules about clerical study, "order was taken" for regular preaching. Every licensed preacher was to give twelve sermons every year in the diocese where his benefice lay, and the archdeacon was to appoint six or seven to minister "by course" Sunday by Sunday in the

parishes where no licensed preacher was. The sanction of Convocation was given to four books of staunch Protestant character, and their public or private use on certain occasions and within limits was authorised. One would not have thought a Puritan could have suspected of Popery the Church assembly which recommended Bullinger's "Decades," Foxe's "Martyrs," Jewell's "Apology," and Nowell's "Catechism."



A SATIRE ON PLURALITIES.

(Barclay, "Ship of Fools.")

In 1589 the primate took some measures against non-residence and pluralities; but neither he nor Convocation looked upon these abuses as anything like so serious as the poverty of the clergy, and up to a certain point were inclined to excuse such irregularities as necessary for the support of a learned ministry.

The Church Courts—now, as before the Reformation, the Church's own worst enemy—were bitterly attacked in the Parliaments of 1593 and 1597. Their immorality, their cost, their delays, their numberless abuses, were the theme of endless tirades; and so serious did the scandal become, that both in 1597 and in 1601 Whitgift passed canons and rules through Convocation for the better regulation of these Courts.¹

¹ Cardwell, "Synodalia," i. 147-163; ii. 583.

Still later, in an encyclical of January 7, 1602, the primate warned the bishops that it was a case of mending or ending for the spiritual jurisdiction. Prohibitions from the common law were now constantly issued to stop the procedure in ecclesiastical cases; and the hatred and suspicion of Canon Law, even as reformed and safeguarded, continued to deepen in the mind of the laity till the storm of the Great Rebellion swept away the whole sand castle.

Yet, in spite of some very terrible weaknesses, the Church's growth towards the self-conscious and vigorous Anglicanism of the seventeenth century was the great religious fact of Elizabeth's last years. Into the literary controversies upon dogmatic points we cannot enter here, more than to notice that as Bancroft in 1589 denied the whole divine claim of the Presbyterian Church government and re-asserted the old Catholic theory of Apostolical succession,¹ so Bilson in his Perpetual Government of Christ's Church, Bancroft in his Survey of the Holy Discipline, Saravia in his treatise On the Various Orders of Ministers, Barret² and Baro in their Cambridge sermons on Predestination, and, above all, Hooker (p. 616) in his great attempt to re-combine politics and religion in a single view as the medieval theorists of the highest order had combined them—all took their part in founding a new school of religious philosophy.

But while this movement was progressing under the very shelter of his action and his policy, Whitgift himself, as he showed by his Lambeth Articles in 1596, had not in any way

¹ In a region where for many years the Episcopalian defence had been of a most weak and halting nature, only objecting, as Whitgift himself was content to do, to the absolute necessity and indispensableness of the Geneva discipline.

² It was Barret's attack on the Calvinistic Theology that produced the Lambeth Articles of 1596; among which the ninth is the most representative: "It is not placed in the will or power of every man to be saved." They set out with the ordinary Calvinistic axioms, "God from eternity hath predestinated some to life, some He hath reprobated to death," and the "moving" or efficient cause of predestination to life is "only the will of the good pleasure of God." (Stype, Whitgift, iv., c. xvii.) The Queen disliked the articles from the first, and through this, through the knowledge that the Puritans were also attacking Barret from the same dogmatic platform, and through the persuasions of Andrewes or Overall, Whitgift was brought to change his attitude. (*Ibid.*, c. xviii.) By Elizabeth's order the articles were recalled and suppressed.

consciously separated himself from doctrinal Calvinism: he was a disciplinarian rather than a dogmatist: and though towards the end of his life he began to realise more clearly the direction in which the Anglicanism he had fought for so practically was travelling, he belonged, like Parker, like Jewell, like Nowell, like all the earlier Elizabethans, to the school of divines who took their religion as the political sovereign directed. Cartwright was essentially wrong, to his mind, because he was questioning "what the magistrate might lawfully ordain."

From the same point of view he resisted the new Puritan attempts, from 1595, to change the character of the English Sunday¹ by "more than either kingly or popely directions for the observation of the Lord's Day."

But in English society at large "those² to whom comely forms and decent order were attractive qualities gathered round the institutions which had been established in the Church under Elizabeth. In the place of her first bishops, who were content to admit these institutions as a matter of necessity, a body of prelates grew up who were ready to defend them for their own sake, and who believed that at least in their main features they were framed in accordance with the will of God."

W. H.
HUTTON.
Religion
and
Literature

THE period of English History which begins with the defeat of the Armada and ends with the death of Elizabeth is in all our annals the richest in works of undying literature. It was the age of the great dramatists: it saw the publication of Bacon's Essays; it marked the first fame and the progress towards maturity of Shakespeare. It would have been impossible that this literary awakening should not have been felt in the sphere where men's hearts are most nearly touched. The literary genius of the age was expressed to the full in religion. The difficulties of Whitgift, the rise of a Puritan party, were reflected not only in ecclesiastical and political life but in literature. What men thought, that they wrote;

¹ Cf. Rogers, "On the Articles" (a reply to the Puritan book which began the controversy: "Dr. Bound's Plea for Stricter Observance").

² Gardiner, "History of England," i., 158.

and though the religious interest of the time was far narrower than the dramatic, it was quite as intense.

The primacy of Whitgift was marked by an union of sectarianism in all its divergent phases against episcopal government and the historic order of the Church. This union, since the "prophesyings" were suppressed, found its easiest outlet in literature. Travers and Cartwright had already published their "Book of Discipline," and Whitgift had met it by exacting an enlarged form of subscription. Cartwright had embodied the spirit of antagonism to prelacy in a famous prayer—"Because the bishops, which ought to be pillars in the Church, combine themselves against Christ and His Truth, therefore, O Lord, give us grace and power, all, as one man, to set ourselves against them." It was this spirit which now displayed itself in a series of popular attacks upon the episcopate, which for violence of language and grossness of conception are almost unparalleled in English literature.

The way for such writing had not been unprepared. The famous work of Foxe, which was in every man's hands, and had received something of a sanction from Convocation, "had not spared direct personal allusions, and had attributed in many cases the basest motives to those in authority." Much harm, too, had been done by the incautious language of Bishop Hooper, and the coarseness of Bishop Bale. Since 1570 the series of Puritan tracts had been increasing, and their violence had grown with their number. Dr. John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury, wrote a large quarto in 1587 in answer to many of them—"A Defence of the Government of the Church of England." In 1588 Udall, a Calvinist minister, wrote "A Conference on the State of the Church of England," published in April, and a "Demonstration of Discipline," which appeared later in the year. The object of the one was destructive—a denunciation of the system of the English Church—that of the other constructive. Its latest editor (Mr. Edward Arber) has clearly described it. "The intention of the writer of this 'Demonstration' was that it should be a kind of ecclesiastical Euclid of Church management; and nowhere else do we get, in so short a space, such a clear tracing of the precise rift, in matters of public worship and church order, between the two systems of the episcopacy and

Attacks
on the
Epis-
copate:
Foxe.

the eldership as they subsisted in Elizabeth's reign. Dr. Bridges in his 'Defence' describes the Presbyterian government as a Tetrarchy of Doctor, Pastor, Elders and Deacons: but, according to this scheme, the deacons had no share in the eldership. Udall's process herein is that of rigid logic. He asserts for the eldership a prescription in all times and places until the end of the world." This, indeed, is the contention of the whole series of the "Martin Marprelate Tracts," to which these two pamphlets of Udall were in effect, though apparently not in intention, an introduction.

"Martin
Marpre-
late."

About Michaelmas, 1588, "The Epistle of Martin Marprelate" was secretly printed in a private house in East Moulsey. It was followed by "The Epitome." In these two works the thesis maintained is the unchangeable prescription of Church government by presbyters, which is declared to be laid down in the New Testament. The distinctive feature, however, of these writings is the unsparing use of personal accusation. Every charge, from inconsistency, weakness, ignorance, to grosser accusation of simony and evil living, is brought against each of the episcopal bench in turn. The Bishop of St. David's had, it is said, two wives, and "the Devil is not better practised in bowling and swearing than John of London be."

Violent as is his attack on Whitgift, Martin Marprelate seems to have been even more enraged with Aylmer, the Bishop of London, who in 1559 had written an answer to John Knox's "First Blast of the Trumpet," called "An Harbour for Faithful and True Subjects," in which he had taken up a position not far removed from that of the Puritans whom he afterwards endeavoured to suppress. It cannot be denied that the Marprelates did but carry out the rules that had been given them in former days by those who had afterwards accepted the full teaching of the Church and enjoyed preferment, and those whom many regarded as ornaments of the Anglican communion. Tyndale, half a century before, had declared "that bishops were antichrists, inasmuch as in their doctrines and doings they are directly against the Word," and that "it is not possible there should be any honest lord bishops." Thus, with foes within and without, there was no slight expectation that episcopacy would be overthrown.

There was actual discussion, indeed, "how, when all the Church revenues should be converted to maintain their presbyteries, the Queen should be recompensed for her first-fruits and tenths"; and the "conditions of peace," which are set forth in the "Epistle," give evidence of a strange confidence of victory.

The ground was hotly contested in continuous literary **Replies.** skirmishes. The Martinists were answered at first by Cooper,



Photo: W. G. Page, Daventry.

THE MANOR HOUSE, FAWSLEY, NORTHANTS.

(Where some of the "Marprelate Tracts" were printed.)

Bishop of Winchester, in a serious style. If allowance be made for occasional eccentricities of argument and illustration, it must be admitted that the reply is conclusive as far as the personal accusations are concerned. It cannot, however, be said to have been successful. The method had the weakness which always attends any attempt to limit the legitimate weapons of defence to those which are used in attack. All appeal to antiquity was avoided, and the arguments were drawn, in Puritan fashion, either from the Bible or from the writings of Peter Martyr, Bucer, Calvin, and Beza—in the

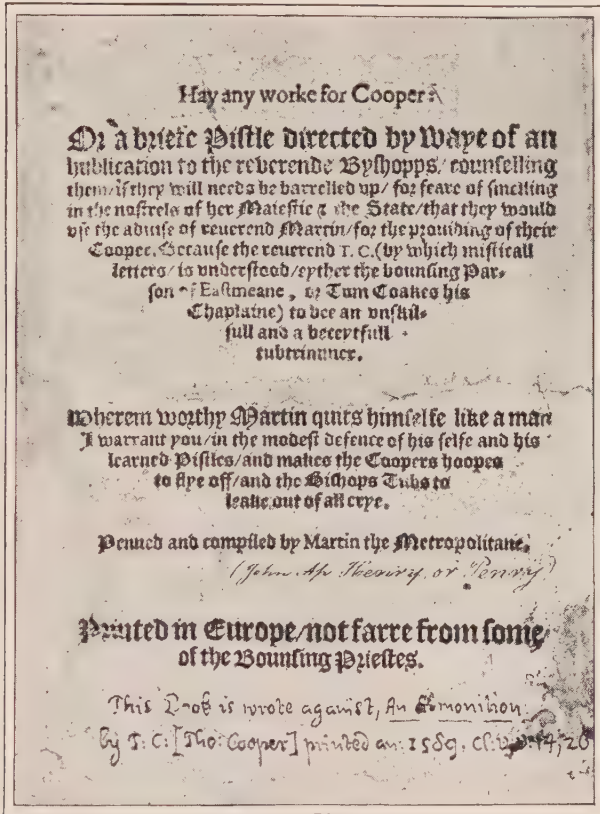
hope, no doubt, that the Sectaries would be hoist with their own petard. Thus the dispute was narrowed to a ground which the Puritans had already occupied; and it might seem as if the foreign Protestant writers were accepted as the ablest interpreters of the Holy Scriptures. In fact, Bishop Cooper's "Admonition" made the Puritan tracts better known, and gave a distinct advantage to the Martinists: while every one of the innumerable personal accusations that had not been specifically noticed was now proclaimed to be admitted. "Ha' y' any work for a cooper?" was Martin's reply to the Bishop. The Queen issued a Proclamation against the tracts: many suspected persons were arrested and examined. The secret presses were seized in May and August (1589); but the activity of the writers was not checked till a champion arose on the part of the Church to meet them in their own style. "An Almond for a Parrot," "Pap with a Hatchet," "The Counter-cuffe," followed one another as quickly as the Martinists replied. "The Return of Pasquil," "Plain Percival," "Anti-Martinus," and many more came in the later months of the controversy. The principle of the whole Martinist attack may be summed up in a sentence from "Ha' y' any work for a cooper?"—"Our church government is an unlawful government, and not allowed in the sight of God." How far the leaders of the Puritan party were responsible for the tracts remains an open question. Cartwright, Paget, and Travers were credited at the time with approving them, and there is no repudiation of the charge to be found in their writings.

Results.

Such was the attack. For the time at least it completely failed. The reasons for this failure are not far to seek. The very violence of the writings, no less than the style in which they were met by Nash and others, discredited them. The legislation of 1593 placed the Puritans within the power of the common-law judges, who had no scruples; and the High Commission took action in the imprisonment of the more vehement of their champions, and the execution of Penry (p. 592). The accusation of treason which had been brought against the Presbyterians had received some countenance from their own violence. The frenzied plot of Hacket, who was a ridiculous caricature of John of Leiden, was also connected in the popular mind with the views of the Sectaries. The stage, too (*cf.* the

Proclamation of 1589), had pursued them with ridicule and satire in every species of dramatic composition. But the controversy turned to a nobler field when the great work of Hooker appeared.

A new departure in controversy was the sermon of Dr.



TITLE-PAGE OF MARPRELATE'S REPLY TO BISHOP COOPER.

Bancroft at Paul's Cross, on February 9th, 1589. Here the low ground on which the tracts had been hitherto met was decisively abandoned. Episcopacy was now formally asserted to be of Divine right and of Scriptural origin. "There is no man living, I suppose," said Bancroft boldly, "that is able to show where there was any church planted ever since the apostles' time, but

the bishop had authority over the rest of the ministry." Bancroft was the precursor of Laud; but he was more immediately followed by Richard Hooker.

Hooker.

Hooker, the greatest master of English prose whom the great age of Elizabeth produced, was born in 1554. Through the patronage of Jewell, of Sandys, and of Whitgift, he had risen to preferment in the Church, and in 1585 he became Master of the Temple. He at once came into controversy with the Reader, Travers, an extreme Calvinist. "The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, the afternoon Geneva." The dispute begun in the pulpit was continued (on Travers' suspension) in print. Travers published an appeal to the Privy Council; Hooker replied. From this time he gave himself to the vindication of the Anglican position. In 1594 appeared the first four books of his "Ecclesiastical Polity." The fifth book was published by itself in 1597. The rest of the work was not issued until after its author's death. Hooker's only aim and object seems to be to inculcate a "sweet reasonableness" in the treatment of ecclesiastical problems. As to the question of the necessity of Episcopacy he will not decide. Like Burke in later times, he will not discuss whether you have not a right to govern your people ill—he will declare only that it is your interest to rule them well. There are great branches of religious life, he insists, for which no fundamental rules are laid down in the New Testament. There are laws of the Church, as there are laws of man, which expediency dictates, but which have still a binding force on all who would be governed by reason or constrained by law at all. Much may become requisite which was not at first ordained; something, too, may be abandoned which was at first required. The fixed rule of Rome and the fixed rule of Geneva have overstepped the limits which the enlightened and reasonable conscience allows. The ecclesiastical polity of England is that which most nearly satisfies Scripture, reason, and the times. Yet he will not insist that it is immutable, or declare that it is of universal obligation. He is not so unhesitating as Bancroft, yet in him a clear advance on others of his predecessors is to be traced. The earlier opponents of the Puritans had contented themselves with supporting the episcopal system by natural reason and ecclesiastical history. Hooker is both historical and reasonable—but he says, "Let us not fear to be

The
"Ecclesi-
astical
Polity."

herein bold and peremptory, that, if anything in the Church's government, surely the first institution of Bishops was from Heaven, was even of God; the Holy Ghost was the author of it." In spite of his dislike of dogmatism, his own opinions are clear. He gives a list of authorities from whose opinion of the equality of bishops and presbyters he specifies his dissent. Each of these stands for a school of thought, and they range from the Waldenses and Wycliffe to Calvin and Jewell. He thus takes his place on the side of primitive or Catholic Christianity, opposed to medieval perversions or modern contradictions.

But Hooker was by no means only a theologian. He was a scientific student of politics. As he met Cartwright and Travers on the battle-ground of Church questions, so he met Machiavelli and the Renaissance school of statecraft on the ground of the organisation of the State. Society as organised rested, in his conception, upon contract.

He looked at political as well as religious questions from the point of view of the scholar. He was the first of our writers who had any considerable acquaintance with Greek philosophy. He was deeply read in St. Thomas Aquinas. Thus his political theories show the influence both of Aristotle and of the schoolmen. The State and the Church were alike to him not ends, but means to make man good. Government and positive law find their sanction in the consent of the society subject to them. Religion and politics touch at every turn. To Hooker—in com-



MONUMENT OF HOOKER, BISHOPSBOURNE CHURCH.

His
Scholar-
ship.

plete opposition to Machiavelli, whose views it was supposed that Thomas Cromwell had endeavoured to put into practice in England—religion was the mainstay of states, and their ecclesiastical polity was thus the most important of their institutions. The supreme end of government is the benefit of the people; and it is religion which inspires men to do good. In the wide scope of his survey, and in his instinctive appreciation of the unity of truth, he regarded mankind with the view at once of the moral philosopher and the Christian priest.

But Hooker is famous not only as a theologian and a political theorist: he is the first master of English prose whose style is not only characteristic of his own age, but expressive of the purest genius of the English tongue. The rich and dignified vocabulary, the stately and majestic periods, which mark his best passages, are instinct with the power and the enthusiasm which made the greatness of Elizabeth's England. He does not scorn any of the arts of the rhetorician: he does not even avoid an intentional quaintness of expression which might seem at times out of keeping with the solemnity of his theme. As in thought so in utterance, he aims at comprehensiveness rather than clarity. There are passages of his which, it is not bold to say, will live as models so long as the English language is written or read.

His Followers.

Hooker was the greatest of his school: but he had many imitators. Indeed, the historical interest of his work chiefly lies in the influence that it exercises on the succeeding generations. Hooker in his learning and his tolerance was the forerunner of the school of Andrewes and Laud. And in his own time Bishop Bilson's "Perpetual Government of Christ's Church" stood side by side with the "Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity" in winning a victory for the Church in the literary war. Bilson's attitude was uncompromising; and to him more than to any other writer of the time the Caroline divines were indebted for the clearness and decision of their attitude on the question of the historic episcopate.

The Reaction.

The religious contests of the later years of Elizabeth's reign were on different subjects, particularly on the observance of Sunday and the doctrine of predestination. A reaction against Puritanism marked the last years of the great Queen's life. Heylin notices that by a strange irony Udall's son was as zealous



Drayton Beauchamp Rectory, Bucks.



Drayton Beauchamp Church.



Boscombe Church, Wilts.



Bishopsbourne Church, near Canterbury.

WHERE HOOKER MINISTERED.

for the Church as his father had been against it, and suffered many things in after years from the Long Parliament. But the reaction was, no doubt, in a measure due to repression and to the exercise of the enlarged powers of the Court of High Commission; and there was in many quarters a feeling as if men held their breath till the old Queen should die, and the settlement which she seemed to personify, as well as to enforce, should expire with her.

C. W. C.
OMAN.
The
Eliza-
bethan
Army.

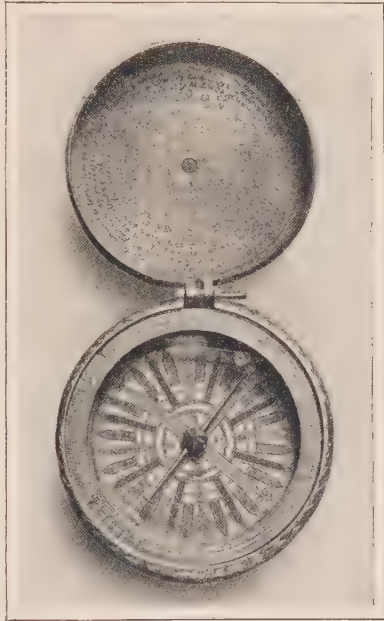
FROM the military point of view, the reign of Elizabeth is the period of the completion of that transformation of the whole character and organisation of the armed forces of England which we have seen commencing under Henry VIII. and developing in the times of Edward VI. and Mary.

The forty-five years of Elizabeth's reign were full of wars, and wars many of which were most important, politically. Yet there are few salient features or points of interest in the military details of the fighting. In the whole period we do not find one first-class pitched battle. The war of 1559-60 in Scotland, the expedition to Havre and Harfleur in 1563, the campaign of Essex in the Netherlands in 1585, the "Journey of Portugal" in 1589, the descent on Cadiz in 1596, were all alike in this. We discover in their annals skirmishes and sieges in plenty, but not a single important engagement. The nearest approach to such a thing is to be found in the two considerable fights in Ireland, the defeat of Bagenal on the Blackwater in 1598, and the victory of Mountjoy at Kinsale in 1601. But both these engagements were fought with a savage foe, and throw comparatively little light on the changes in English tactics and organisation which were in progress at the time. The very considerable armies which were on several occasions raised in the Queen's name for service both within and beyond the four seas never had an opportunity of trying their efficiency against any civilised enemy. There were 20,000 men in arms in 1569 to suppress the rising in the North, and more than twice that number ready to receive the Spaniards in 1588, when the great Armada was threatening our southern coast. But these great armies had no opportunity of showing their metal. The best tests which the English

had of trying their efficiency against a really formidable foe were in comparatively small engagements—such as the skirmishes at Zutphen, and elsewhere, when the English troops in Holland tried their metal on Parma's veterans, the rout at Vigo during the "Journey of Portugal," and some small fights during the French wars of religion, where English auxiliaries were serving in company with the Huguenots.

When Elizabeth came to the throne the military organisation of England had just been modified by the creation of the Lords Lieutenant in each county by the law of Philip and Mary. This ordinance had relieved the sheriffs from the duty of taking command of the shire levies, which had formed part of their functions ever since the times of William the Conqueror. From 1557 onward the Lord Lieutenant became the military authority in each county: it was he who appointed the officers, assessed the number of men to be supplied from each hundred and parish, and was supposed to take command of the whole in the case of war. But the full force of England was only called out on the occasion of the

Armada. It was, as a rule, only a small proportion of the levies of each county that was summoned under arms. When the Queen wished to send out an army, it was now procured by drawing on each shire for a definite contingent. The men were procured by volunteering, so far as possible; but as this never sufficed, the full number had always to be filled up by forcible impressment. When the men were mustered, they were officered by local commanders chosen by the Lord



POCKET-DIAL OF THE EARL OF ESSEX, 1593.

(British Museum.)

The
Military
Unit.

Lieutenant of the shire, and approved by the Government. No conception of any large military unit having been yet formed, the troops were divided into "bands" of about 150 or 200 men under captains, each of whom was assisted by a lieutenant and an ancient. It was only at a much later date that the custom of forming four or five of these bands into a regiment was introduced. In an army of 6,000 or 8,000 men, comprising forty or fifty "bands," there was no unit of organisation beyond the small band and the old triple divisions of "vaward, main-battle, and rearward," into which the bands were told off.



ENGINEER TAKING ALTITUDES.

(S. Bateman, "*A Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation*,")

On taking the field, these select shire levies were supposed to pass into the charge of the Government, and to receive their food, pay, and clothing from the royal hands. But Elizabeth's habitual parsimony made the soldier's lot a hard one: the pay was always in arrears, the food was bad, the clothing scandalously neglected. Whether the army was in Scotland, Ireland, or Holland, we find the same invariable complaint that the men were

deserting on account of the privations they had to endure, and that the captains, while trying to draw pay for their whole "band," could generally show no more than two-thirds of it when called to a muster.

Uniforms.

In the matter of clothing there was now a fixed custom of putting all the men belonging to the same band in a fixed uniform. But each shire might select a different colour for the men that it equipped, and we find no attempt on the part of the Government to enforce any normal and regular costume. The only feature common to the whole army was the red St. George's cross worn on cassock or jerkin by the whole army. The levies of different years and different shires are noted as having worn very different equipment. In the early years of

the reign we often hear of white coats with the ordinary cross on them. A little later we read of a Lancashire levy in dark blue. Red was not uncommon: an ordinance of 1584 for raising troops for Ireland orders the men to be dressed in "some motley or other sad green colour or russet"—a sufficiently vague definition. Over the coat the archer now wore, for the most part, a buckskin jerkin. The pikemen had heavier arms—a back- and breast-plate, often fitted with short tassets to cover the upper thighs. The harquebusiers also seem to have been wont to wear a certain amount of plate armour—which one would think must have tended to cumber them and render the play of their arms in the musket exercise less effective. On their heads all foot-soldiers, almost without exception, wore the peaked and pointed morion; very occasionally we hear of the archers with felt caps instead of the steel headpiece.

The cavalry was still very heavily armed, though a tendency to lighten the equipment was now becoming visible. Not even the "pistol-proof" mail, of which we often hear, could really resist the musket ball; and as firearms grew more and more usual, and the bow less common, the long contest between the penetrative power of the missile and the resisting strength of the armour was practically settled in favour of the former. By the end of Elizabeth's reign the leg-armour of the heavy horseman below the knee had, for the most part, been replaced by long leather boots. The thighs were still protected by tassets, often curved out to a monstrous size to cover the enormous breeches of the period. But these cumbrous devices of riveted plate were not worn by everyone. Every reader will remember that Sir Philip Sidney's lamentable death at Zutphen was attributed to the fact that he had gone forth to the skirmish only in breast- and back-plate, so that the shot



BRASS OF SIMON MALORY,
WOODFORD, NORTHANTS.

(Elizabethan Armour; 1580.)

Arms and
Armour.

that struck him below the hip met no resistance from armour. The closed helmet and the brassarts for the arms were still, however, worn by every fully equipped horseman, so that the "lances" of Elizabeth's time still bore the general appearance of their forefathers of the fifteenth century. The "demi-



RICHARD DISNEY.
(*Elizabethan Armour*;
1578.)

lances," or light cavalry, contented themselves with less—an open morion that did not cover the face, and a plain breast- and back-plate. Such was the appearance of the many thousand Northern moss-troopers who used to swarm to the royal standard whenever trouble on the borders of Scotland was afoot.

But the great feature of the military history of Elizabeth's reign is the gradual disappearance of the long-bow—the cherished weapon of the English yeomanry for the last 300 years. In the '60's it was still the usual weapon of the bulk of the host; in the '80's it was used by only one man in three. By 1600 it was almost obsolete.

The first indications of the fact that public opinion was at last beginning to run in favour of the harquebus may be found as early as the second year of Elizabeth. In a muster of the select train-bands of London, held before the Queen as early as 1559, we read that there was—probably for the first time on record—not a single archer in the array. The men exercised before the Queen were the picked corps of the city, not its whole levy: in the total of 1,400 men there were 800 pikes in morions and plate, 400 "shot" in shirts of mail with morions, and 200 halberdiers in almain rivets, *i.e.* riveted plate-armour of German fashion. If the whole of London's force had been out in arms we should have found several thousand archers, but the choicest companies included "shot," *i.e.* harquebusiers only. Outside London the harquebus was still rare: there are several statutes of the early times of Elizabeth promising municipal privileges to practised



WILLIAM DISNEY.
(*Elizabethan Armour*;
1578.)



SOLDIERS AT SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S FUNERAL.

(Heralds' College. By permission of the Chapter.)

marksmen in country towns, which show that they were still scarce and much esteemed. In 1567 the Queen, in spite of her parsimony, offered a retaining fee of £4 a year for harquebusiers with competent weapons and good skill, on condition of their being ready to turn out if wanted in case of invasion. In 1569 the Earl of Sussex, watching Scotland, writes to London that he would prefer archers to the "so ill-furnished harquebusiers" that have been put at his disposal. It was, in fact, difficult to accustom the nation to turn from the old national weapon to one that was still hardly understood: again and



A BATTLE, FROM HOLINSHED'S CHRONICLES, 1577.

again we hear complaints of the uncertainty and unskilfulness of the English practice with firearms.

The New
Weapon
and the
Old.

The change from bow to musket, however, was inevitable: the superior penetrating power of bullet over arrow was an argument that grew more and more cogent as the make of firearms improved and the rapidity of their discharge was quickened. We are told that in the beginning of the Queen's reign a skilled harquebusier could fire but ten or twelve shots an hour, while at the end the pace had quickened up to thirty-five or forty. The archer could still let fly a much larger number of arrows in that time—but the rate was no longer so infinitely quicker than that of the harquebus. Moreover, the rapid discharge exhausted his sheaf so quickly that

he soon required a fresh supply; and arrows were a bulky commodity for quick forwarding to the front line of battle.

We are fortunately in possession of a full discussion as to the relative merits of bow and harquebus, conducted by men who had seen them employed together, in the wars of the Netherlands. This controversy produced, indeed, the first considerable instalment of technical military writing in the English language. The disputants were Sir John Smythe on the side of the bow, and Sir Roger Williams and Humphrey Barwick on the side of the harquebus. Smythe states his



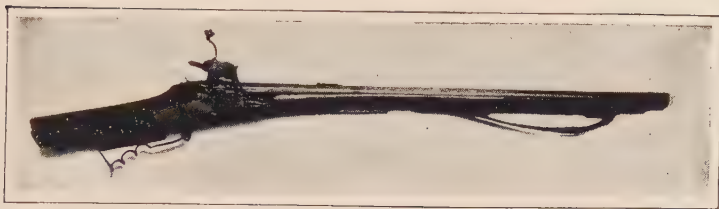
A SIEGE, FROM HOLINSHED'S CHRONICLES, 1577.

preference for archers to rest (1) on their better aim, for the harquebusier can only take true aim at point-blank, and shoots wildly at anything over a hundred yards; (2) on the liability of the fire-arm to get out of order—wet weather spoils the powder, windy or rainy weather blows out or extinguishes the match, the piece fouls and clogs easily, it is difficult to repair; (3) on the liability of the soldier to mishandle his weapon in the excitement of the battle—in his haste he forgets to put wadding between the powder and the ball, or lets the bullet drop out of the mouth of his piece by holding it with muzzle depressed; (4) harquebusiers cannot stand more than two deep, archers easily eight or ten deep, and the latter are much better able to defend themselves against cavalry than the former;

(5) the extreme heaviness of the musket and harquebus tire out the soldier on the march, and render his aim unsteady after a half-hour's engagement; (6) last comes the old and most effective argument as to rapidity of fire. The only advantage that he allows to firearms is for use "in bulwarks, ramparts, and mounts of a fortress," when the harquebusier, shooting from a steady rest without exposing himself much, may be of good service.

Barwick, in replying to Smythe, controverts most of his propositions. (1) He denies the impossibility of aiming at long distances; (2) in bad weather bow-strings grow slack or break, and arrow-feathers flake off, so that the archer is as much in danger of mishap as the gunner; (3) archers in battle are just as liable to accidents from nervous hurry as harquebusiers—they stoop to shield themselves, do not draw the arrow full to its head, and let fly when only half drawn—they are actually, he asserts, scared at the smoke and noise of opponents furnished with fire-arms; (4) when archers are drawn up more than two or three deep, the rear rank shoot at a venture over the front, without any power of taking aim; (5) the bowman is far more dependent on being unfatigued and in full possession of his bodily powers than the harquebusier—"if he get not his three meales every daye, as his custome is to have at home, neither his body to lie warme at nights, he presently waxeth benumbed," and cannot draw his bow to any good effect; (6) a good harquebusier can now discharge forty shots an hour with steady and sure aim, so that the greater pace of the bow is no longer what it was.

The celebrated Sir Roger Williams also appears in the controversy on the side of the harquebus. He would rather have with him in the field 500 good muskets than 1,500 bows. Archers, he says, are of such mixed quality that out of 5,000 only some 1,500 can "shoote strong shootes," and he then proceeds to back up Barwick's fifth contention by the statement that after three months in the field, in winter or bad weather, not one man in ten can keep up his full bodily strength to the pitch at which he started. "Few or none will do any great hurt at twelve or fourteen score off" (240 or 280 yards). The harquebus, on the other hand, will shoot as strongly as ever,



MATCHLOCK OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD. I.

so long as the soldier has strength enough to touch off his piece.

While the controversy was in progress, and all through the years 1570-1595, bow and musket were seen side by side in every English levy.¹ A band was often composed on some such scale as eighty harquebuses, forty bows, forty halberts, eighty pikes, as in the instructions for the Lancashire levy of 1584. When such a mixed body was drawn up in battle order, the halberts took post in the centre to guard the standard of the company, the pikes stood on each side of them, then came the bowmen in two halves, flanking the pikemen, and finally the men with callivers or harquebuses formed up at the two extreme ends of the line.

Last Days
of the
Bow.

The tactics of the English were, of course, greatly modified by the increasing use of the musket. The harquebusier does not seem to have been expected to drop his weapon and join in the *mêlée* with sword or axe, as the old bowmen had been

¹ Cf. "Ballad of Brave Lord Willoughby" (c. 1588):

"Stand to it, noble pikemen,
And look you round about!
And shoot you right, you bowmen,
And we will keep them out;

You musket and calliver men
Do you prove true to me,
And I'll be foremost in the fight,"
Says brave Lord Willoughby."



MATCHLOCK OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD. II.

(Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.)

wont to do. When close fighting occurred, and the opposing lines came "to push of pike," the musketeer was expected to slip to the rear of the line of pikes and cover himself behind them, or at best to keep up a sidelong fire on the attacking force. But this last would be impossible if the enemy's flanks were furnished with horse, to whom the musketeer would have to expose himself in the open field.

The muster-rolls of the army that was drawn together to oppose the Armada give excellent data for the balance between the two weapons in 1588. In most parts of England all the trained men of the regular militia were now furnished with firearms. In some counties, such as Somerset, Wilts, Cambridge, Huntingdon, no archers at all appear. In London out of 6,000 train-bands not one carried bows, but of 4,000 untrained men 800 kept the old weapon. In central and northern England the proportion of bows to harquebuses in the whole array was from one-fifth to one-third; only in the two counties of Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire were the archers more numerous than the men carrying firearms.

Only seven years later [1595] the Privy Council finally decreed that the bow should never be placed in the hands of any member of regular train-bands, but that all without exception should be armed with callivers, harquebuses, or muskets. Such was the death-knell of the old English weapon that had done such good service all through the Middle Ages.

W. LAIRD
CLOWES.
The Elizabethan
Navy;
Improvements.

UNTIL well on in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the sixteenth century witnessed comparatively few improvements in the art of shipbuilding for the Navy; but then came many considerable changes. Sir Walter Raleigh informs us that in his time the shape of English ships had been greatly bettered; that the striking of topmasts, "a wonderful ease to great ships, both at sea and in the harbour," was of new invention; and that another novel device was the chain pump, "which taketh up twice as much water as the ordinary one did." He also notes the addition to the courses of the bonnet and the drabber, the introduction of studding-sails, and the practice of weighing the anchor by means of a capstan. "We have fallen," he continues, "into consideration of the length of cables, and by it we resist the

malice of the greatest winds that can blow. Witness the Hollanders, that were wont to ride before Dunkirk with the wind at north-east, making a lee shore in all weathers: for true it is that the length of the cable is the life of the ship in all extremities; and the reason is that it makes so many bendings and waves, as the ship, riding at that length, is not able to stretch it; and nothing breaks that is not stretched." He further mentions that ships had in his day been rendered more seaworthy by a principle of so constructing them as to raise the sills of the lower ports well out of the water.

The device of jointed masts, alluded to by Sir Walter, is attributed to that great man and indefatigable reformer, Sir John Hawkins, who, from 1573 until the day of his death, was Treasurer of the Navy; yet in the Elizabethan era but one joint seems to have ever been used, the mast consisting only of lower-mast and top-mast, and the bowsprit being, apparently, still always a pole. The chain pump needs no explanation here. The bonnet was an additional part, made to fasten with lathings to the foot of a sail so as to increase its area for fine weather work. Though it may have been revived in Raleigh's time, it was not then really of recent invention. The drabber was an addition to the bonnet; and so, by latching on bonnet and drabber, the Elizabethan seaman attained the object which his descendants have attained by letting out reefs. As for studding-sails, they are still, of course, in common use. Sprit-sails and topgallant-sails were other Elizabethan innovations. The raising of the sills of the lower ports was, no doubt, a valuable improvement; but it was not carried far enough, and few Elizabethan ships could, in even a very moderate sea, fight their lower deck, or, in other words, their heaviest guns, with either safety or comfort.

The Queen came to the throne five years after the Navy had suffered the disaster of the accidental burning of the *Henri Grace à Dieu* at Woolwich on August 27th, 1553 (p. 300). The disappearance of that notable craft left the *Jesus*, a vessel of only 700 tons, to figure as the largest ship of the fleet. But the *Triumph*, in which some of Sir John Hawkins' improvements are believed to have been embodied, and which may be accepted as a typical Elizabethan man-of-war, marked a distinct advance upon all that had gone before her; and, indeed, she remained

Ships of
War.

the largest and finest British-built vessel in the Navy until the launching of the *Prince Royal* in 1610. A *St. Matthew*, mentioned in a list of 1599, was as large and, perhaps, finer; but she is understood to have been a Spanish prize; and the *Bear*, or *White Bear*, which served, captained by Edmund, Lord Sheffield, against the Armada, and which was a British-built ship, was no better than, if as good as, the craft which flew Sir Martin Frobisher's pennant on the same glorious occasion.

The *Triumph* was of either 1,000 or 1,100 tons burthen, and had four masts; but no trustworthy account of her dimensions survives. A manuscript dated 1578, when she was nearly new, tells us that she then carried 700 men, of whom 450 were mariners, or seamen, 50 gunners, and 200 soldiers, the first being for working the ship, the second for manning the heavy ordnance, and the third for managing the lighter guns and small arms, and probably for service as boarders. Her "furniture," or, as we should now say, her gunner's and armourer's stores, included 250 harquebuses, 50 bows, 100 sheaves of arrows, 200 pikes, and 100 corslets. Other ships of her day were in addition furnished with bills, or axes, but she is not mentioned as having been supplied with these. Her heavy guns, as shown by a manuscript of 1599, were 4 cannon (8 in. 60-prs., weighing 6,000 lb.), 3 demi-cannon (6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. 33-prs., weighing 4,000 lb.), 17 culverins (5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. 18-prs., weighing 4,500 lb.), 8 demi-culverins (4 in. 9-prs., weighing 3,400 lb.), 6 sakers (3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ -prs., weighing 1,400 lb.), and 30 smaller pieces, such as falconets (2 in. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ -prs., weighing 500 lb.), serpentines (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\frac{3}{4}$ -prs., weighing 400 lb.), and rabinets (1 in. $\frac{1}{2}$ -prs., weighing 300 lb.). The armament was therefore considerably more powerful than that of the *Henri Grace à Dieu*. Omitting the smaller pieces, the total weight of guns carried was, in the old ship, 83,720 lb., and in the new, 148,100 lb.; and the weight of the broadside was 275 lb. and 374 lb. respectively. This comparative statement alone is sufficient to indicate how vast an improvement had, within a period not exceeding about two generations, been made in the offensive force of first-class men-of-war. It is granted that only two or three English ships of the time approached the *Triumph*, either in force or in size; but the commonly received opinion as to the inferiority, all round, of the English ships to those of the Spanish Armada, and the popular belief that we fought at an immense

disadvantage, is greatly exaggerated. In 1588, of vessels of 1,000 tons and upwards, the Spanish fleet included only the flagship of Don Pedro de Valdez (1,550 tons), the *Ragazone* (1,294 tons), the *Santa Anna* (1,200 tons), the *Grangrina* (1,160 tons), the *San Juan* (1,050 tons) and the *Trinidad Valencera* and *San Martino* (each 1,000 tons), or seven in all; and, although we had but two of this large class, we had on the other hand no



A FIGHT WITH PIRATES.

(Saxton and Ryther's Atlas, 1579.)

fewer than 197 craft to oppose to the Spanish 132 all told; and the greater handiness of our ships is undoubted. Most of the contemporary accounts of the Spanish fleet were written by those who were neither seamen nor men capable of forming just views on such subjects. They represent Philip's ships as "so huge that the ocean groaned beneath their weight"; "so lofty that they resembled rather castles or fortresses"; "so numerous that the sea was invisible"; but Captain Fenner, who must have

been a competent judge, wrote to Sir Francis Drake that "twelve of Her Majesty's ships were a match for all the galleys in the King of Spain's dominions." "There is no doubt, however," says Professor J. K. Laughton, R.N., "that the Spanish ships looked larger. Their poops and forecastles, rising tier above tier to a great height, towered far above the lower-built English. Not that the large English ships were by any means flush-decked: but they were not so high charged as the Spanish. The difference offered a great advantage to the Spaniards in hand-to-hand fighting"—a species of combat which the English for the most part successfully avoided on the occasion—"but it told terribly against them when their enemy refused to close; it made their ships leewardly and unmanageable in even a moderate breeze; and, added to the Spanish neglect of recent improvements in rig—notably the introduction of the bowline—it rendered them very inferior to the English in the open sea."

Naval
Guns.

Still more important than the inferiority of the Spanish ships and of the Spanish seamen, who were neither as experienced nor relatively as numerous as the British, was the inferiority of the Spanish guns and gunners. Professor Laughton has well brought out this. The following comparisons are based upon information much of which has been supplied by him; and, as they deal with typical ships of the close of the fifteenth century, they should be conclusive:—

SHIPS. (SPANISH.)	TONS.	MEN.	NO. OF GUNS.	WEIGHT OF BROADSIDE. lbs.	DESCRIPTION OF HEAVY GUNS. (POUNDERS.)							NO. OF SMALL GUNS.
					60	33	24	18	12	9	5½	
<i>San Lorenzo</i> ...	?	386	50	370	4	8	—	6	—	6	10	16
<i>N. S. de Rosario</i> ...	1,150	422	41	195	—	3	7	4	—	1	—	26
<i>Anunciada</i> ...	703	275	24	67	—	—	—	3	—	5	—	18
<i>S. Maria de Vison</i> ...	666	307	18	54	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	12
(ENGLISH.)												
<i>Triumph</i> ...	1,100	500	68	402	4	3	—	17	—	8	6	30
<i>Ark Royal</i> ...	800	425	55	377	4	4	—	12	—	12	6	17
<i>Mer Honour</i> ...	800	400	41	281	—	4	—	15	—	16	4	2
<i>Nonpareil</i> ...	500	250	56	264	2	3	—	7	—	8	12	24
<i>Foresight</i> ...	300	160	37	102	—	—	—	—	—	14	8	15

Here we have a typical English ship of 800 tons which was both more numerous manned and more powerfully armed than a typical Spanish ship of 1,150 tons; and an English ship of 300 tons which in weight of broadside was about twice as strong as a



ENGAGING THE SPANISH ARMADA.

(From the engraving of 1759, by Morant and Pine, of the *tripestry* in the old House of Lords.)

Spanish ship of more than twice her size. Moreover, according to Duro, "the cannon was considered by the Spaniards to be but an ignoble weapon, good merely for the opening of the fray, and for trifling with until the arrival of the moment for engaging hand to hand. With these views, the officers directed their gunners to aim high, so as to disable the enemy and prevent his escape; but as upright sticks are hard things to hit, the result was that shots flew harmlessly into the water, or, at best, made holes in the sails or cut away a few ropes of no account." On the other hand, the English found that the high Spanish hulls made excellent targets. The Spaniards themselves, too, estimated the English fire to be three times as rapid as their own. They were further prejudiced by the fact that in their ships the ports, perhaps in order to keep out as much small-arm fire as possible, had been made so small that the guns behind them could not be properly trained, depressed, or elevated. All ports were unduly small in those days, but those of the Spanish Navy were the smallest of any.

The "Ark
Royal."

The larger English ships of the period probably carried their guns much as the *Ark Royal* (or *Ark Raleigh*), Lord Howard of Effingham's flagship in 1588, carried hers. So far as is indicated in the interesting print here reproduced, her guns, particulars of which have been already given, were carried as follows:—On the lower deck, 4 60-prs., 4 33-prs., and 8 18-prs.; on the main deck, 4 18-prs., 12 9-prs. and 2 5½-prs.; under the poop, 4 5½-prs., and 6 small guns; under the forecastle, 6 small guns; and in the barricade, waist and tops, the remaining 5 small pieces. We know that the gallant *Revenge*, of 500 tons and 250 men, at the time of her capture by the Spaniards in 1591, carried 20, out of her total of 43, brass guns on her lower deck, and that these, weighing from 4,000 to 6,000 lb. apiece, were 18-prs., 33-prs., and 60-prs.; and that on her upper deck—for she had but one complete covered deck—she mounted the remaining 23, which in no case exceeded in weight the weight of a bastard-culverin or 5-pr. She was built in 1579, apparently from the designs of Sir John Hawkins, who was also before 1583 the designer or modifier of, besides the *Triumph*, the *White Bear*, *Elizabeth Jonas*, *Ark Royal*, and *Victory*. In addition to such improvements as have been already noticed, these ships had lower poops and forecastles than usual, longer keels in proportion to their

length, and finer and sharper lines. All of them were engaged against the Armada in 1588. Where the ships of the time were built it is now, save in a few cases, impossible to discover. We know, however, that members of the great family of naval constructors, the Petts, were concerned in the building of many of them, especially in the River Thames. That family supplied nearly all the most distinguished shipbuilders to England for a period of more than a century.

Of the current prices of certain naval stores in the year of



THE ARK ROYAL.

(From a contemporary print.)

the Armada, records are preserved in various MSS. in the British Museum. The cost of anchors for the Navy was 33s. 4d. per cwt.; black oakum was 7s. per cwt.; boat oars cost 2s. 8d. apiece, and long pinnace oars 4s. 4d.; compasses suitable for the Queen's ships could be had for 3s. 4d. each, and "running glasses," or hour glasses, for 10d.; sounding leads were 12s. per cwt.; and a sum of £15 in all was paid for a boat of 33 ft. long by 8 ft. broad for H.M.S. *Swiftsure*. A harquebus cost 30s.; a musket complete 26s. 8d.; a caliver complete 18s.; a long pike 4s.; a short pike 3s. 4d.; a "black bill," or long-handled axe, 3s.; a bow with its due allowance of arrows, 6s. 8d.;

Naval
Stores.

a hundredweight of lead for casting small shot 12s. ; and so on. Of victuals for ships, biscuit in 1556 was 10s. 3d. per cwt. ; beer 30s. 8d. per ton of 4 hogsheads ; beef 15s. per cwt. ; stock-fish (salt cod) 26s. per cwt. ; cheese 2½d. per lb. ; salt, for salting beef, 8d. per bushel, and butter 3d. per lb. In 1570 bacon for the fleet was 3d. per lb., and peas were 24s. per quarter.¹

The Navy
as a Pro-
fession.

In the reign of Elizabeth the Royal Navy began to take form, as it had never done before, as a regular and permanent organisation. It became, for the first time, a profession. Many officers entered it as youngsters, and remained in it all their active lives. Previously nearly all had flitted backwards and forwards between it and the merchant marine, between it and such army as there was, or even between it and civil life on shore. One of the earliest examples of the professional naval officer was Sir William Monson, who, as boy or man, served at sea in every rank, and at pretty frequent intervals from 1585 to 1635. He is also memorable as the author of the "Naval Tracts," which, published after his death in 1643, preserve to us a very complete picture of the English Navy as it was in his day. Concerning the importance of having trained officers, he wrote : "The best ships of war in the known world have been commanded by captains bred seamen ; and merchants put their whole confidence in the fidelity and ability of seamen to carry their ships through the hazard of pirates, men-of-war, and the dangers of rocks and sands, be they of never so much value ; which they would never do under the charge of a gentleman, or an experienced soldier, for his valour only" ; and again :

"The sea language is not soon learnt, much less understood, being only proper to him that has served his apprenticeship ; besides that a boisterous sea and stormy weather will make a man not bred to it so sick that it bereaves him of legs, stomach, and courage, so much as to fight with his meat. And in such weather, when he hears the seamen cry 'starboard' or 'port,' or to 'bide alooff,' or 'flat a sheet,' or 'haul home a clue-line,' he thinks he hears a barbarous speech which he conceives not the meaning of. Suppose the best and ablest-bred seaman should buckle on armour, and mount a courageous great horse, and so undertake the leading of a troop of horse, he would no doubt be accounted very indiscreet, and men would judge he could perform but very weak service ; neither could his soldiers hope of good security,

[¹MSS. Sloane 2450, Otho E. ix., Harl. 306, quoted in Charnock, *History of Marine Architecture*, 1800, Vol. II. Other lists will be found in *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIII.]

being under an ignorant captain that knows not scarce how to reign his horse, much less to take advantage for execution or retreat. And yet it is apparent to be far more easy to attain experience for land service than on the sea."

The passage is, by the way, interesting as showing that the use of "port" instead of "larboard" is not, as some suspect, a modern habit, and as indicating the origin of the expression "to luff." Monson had had to complain of the Navy being partially officered by men who were unfit for their duties, because they had had no proper training. His views took root, and after his time the non-professional naval officer became yearly rarer and rarer, until, at the end of the seventeenth century, he disappeared entirely, to the great advantage of the service.

The rise of the Royal Navy as a professional career was naturally accompanied by the framing for both men and officers of regulations more precise and explicit than had previously been in force. In some instructions and Articles which were drawn up while Lord Howard of Effingham was Lord High Admiral, we have in rudimentary form the Articles of War of the present day, combined with the Queen's Regulations and the Admiralty Instructions. In these swearing, brawling, dicing, contentions and disorders were forbidden; picking and stealing were threatened with punishment under martial law; the preservation and husbanding of victuals were enjoined; precautions against fire were recommended; waste of powder was deprecated; cleanliness was insisted on; sanitary measures were prescribed; distribution of prize-money was provided for, and much more. The practices and the traditions of the service were rapidly crystallising. Dating from this era comes to us the earliest record of a regular naval court-martial.

Naval
Discipline.

This interesting court was held in the course of Drake's Cadiz Expedition in 1587 for the "singeing of the King of Spain's beard," and the account of it is preserved in the Cæsar Papers in the British Museum. It arose out of a mutiny in the *Golden Lion*, the captain of which (William Burroughs) had, owing to misconduct, been superseded by Captain Marchaunt—Drake taking upon himself the responsibility. Dr. Julius Cæsar styles the proceedings "an excellent forme of a Sessions kept by Sir Francis Drake and other captains on boarde of one of the Queen Elizabeth's ships"; but the minute of the inquiry calls it "a general Courte holden for the service of Her Majesty

The First
Court
Martial.

aboarde the *Elizabethe Bonaventure*." All the captains and masters of the fleet were formally summoned, and, in their presence, "the Generall," Sir Francis Drake, "called in question and judiciallye demanded of Captayne Marchaunt howe he colde discharge himselfe and answeere the departure of Her Majestie's Shippe the *Golden Lyon* which he latelye gave him in charge." Captain Marchaunt spoke in his defence, explaining that upon the first symptom of mutiny in his ship, he had ordered her master to keep her close to the General (the flagship); but that immediately afterwards a quarter-master had handed to him, on behalf of the crew, a letter, complaining that the people were short of food and drink, and were not properly treated, and declaring that they intended to at once carry the vessel home again. The men then refused to obey orders, although Marchaunt himself expostulated with them. Only fifteen or sixteen sided with him. He demanded to be set on board the *Queen's Pinnace*; and, after some discussion, this was agreed to. Captain Clifford, of the *Queen's Pinnace*, who took Marchaunt on board, testified that he, too, had remonstrated with the mutineers. They called him, however, "Arrante Villaine." Drake's sentence upon the contumacious mutineers lends to the proceedings the character of a court-martial, although the court had really been originally summoned rather as a court of inquiry. The great seaman's words, divested of Dr. Cæsar's erratic spelling of them, were:—

"Although I am not doubtful what to do in this case, nor yet want any authority but myself have from Her Majesty sufficient jurisdiction to correct and punish with all severity as to be in discretion shall be meet, according to the quality of the offences, all those seditious persons which shall be in the whole fleet, yet, for the confidence I have in your discretions, as also to witness our agreement in judgment in all matters, I pray you let me have your several opinions touching this fact which hath been declared in your hearing this day." [Possibly after the other officers had spoken, Sir Francis continued]:—"In my judgment, it was as foul and intolerable a mutiny as ever I have known. Captain Marchaunt hath discharged his duty faithfully as a true servitor unto her Majesty. All the rest of that ship, excepting only those twelve or sixteen which held up their hands to witness their willingness to return to our company, have deserved a shameful death, in that they have forsaken her Majesty's standard and commission, and forsaken her Majesty's ships royal, being distressed, and, as much as in them lieth, hindered the service in hand for the honour and safety of her Majesty's realms and dominions. And, therefore, my final and definite sentence is this—that the

master of the said ship, the boatswain, and Mr. Burroughs and Crow, the principal contrivers and workers of this mutiny, shall, as soon I come by them, wheresoever I find them within my power, abide the pain of death. If not, they shall remain as dead men in law. All the rest shall remain also at her Majesty's mercy as accessories to this treacherous defection. And, though it shall please her Majesty to look upon them with mercy, yet my sentence is: They shall all come to the court-gate with halters about their necks, for an example to all such offenders."

The whole court, it is declared, approved this sentence. From that time the naval court-martial seems to have become a common institution, and not long afterwards it was recognised and regularised. If Drake had any precedents to guide him, beyond the terms of his commission, he kept them to himself.

As the practice of the sea crystallised, so did the language. The Elizabethan seaman's vocabulary contained a very large proportion, indeed, of the terms which are even now in common use in sailing ships. Among the many technical words and expressions which, bearing their present meaning, one finds with some surprise in maritime letters and papers of three hundred years ago are: armings, awnings, to belay, bits, to bowse, breechings, bulkheads, cambers, caps, carlings, case-shot, clew-garnets, coamings, davits, "dead-men's-eyes" (deadeyes), fenders, "foot-hooks" (futtocks), gratings, grommets, "gunwalls" (gunwales), hatchways, "hamacos" (hammocks), heaving the log, junk, "keel-son" (kelson), lashings, marling-spikes, moorings, nettings, peak, purchases, quarters, scuttles, seizings, to serve, shackles, sheers, shrouds, skiffs, scuppers, spun-yarn, in stays, stern-sheets, steerage, tarpaulin, yaw, and scores of others.

Nautical
Terms.

Very important in their bearing upon the development of the Navy were many of the scientific discoveries and improvements of the Elizabethan period. In one passage, Monson regrets the general introduction of the spyglass, because it would have the effect of rendering useless one of his numerous "stratagems" for the deception of an enemy—namely, the mounting of dummy guns so as to give an exaggerated idea of the ship's force. Originally contrived in 1560, or thereabouts, by Porta, the telescope was brought into practical use before the close of the century by Janssen of Middelburg, and presently became part of the equipment of every seaman. The cross-staff had been devised before Elizabeth's time. It was during her reign

Science
and Sea-
manship.

almost superseded by the back-staff, the invention of John Davis, the navigator. The variation of the compass had been observed by Columbus and Cabot; but it was not until the Elizabethan age, and by English seamen and scientists, that anything definite and useful was established concerning terrestrial magnetism. The completion in 1569 of Mercator's famous chart of the world was a significant event of the same period. The art of navigation was still more particularly furthered by the publication in English form of Martin Cortes's "Brief Compendium of the Sphere" in 1561, of Guevara's Treatise in 1578, and of Medina's "Rules of Navigation" in 1581. Meanwhile, Bourne had issued the first original English work on the subject—the "Regiment of the Sea"—in 1573; and Thomas Blundeville followed in 1594 with his "Exercises." William Burrough, by his "Discourses of the Magnet and Loadstone" (1581); Robert Norman, by his "New Attractive"; and Dr. Gilbert, of Colchester, who, in 1600, first propounded the theory that the earth itself is a magnet, rendered valuable ancillary service; and Edward Wright, by his explanation, or rather by his scientific discovery, of the principles of Mercator's projection, made himself the father of modern marine cartography. But perhaps as really useful as the labours of any of these was the work of the aforesaid John Davis, the navigator, entitled "The Seaman's Secrets," and first published in 1594. The hydrography of the period was surprisingly good. Before the end of the sixteenth century all the harbours and estuaries of England had been fairly well surveyed, and the information obtained had been embodied in charts which were both detailed and accurate. Activity in this direction was, no doubt, furthered by the influence and example of the Corporation of Trinity House—a guild which had become powerful in the time of Henry VIII., and which, after having at first undertaken many other duties, settled down, under an Act of Elizabeth, as the responsible authority on certain questions of pilotage, and as the conservator of the buoys and beacons of the coast.

Pay and
Pensions.

The pay of the officers and men of the Navy was still small. In 1575 the Lord High Admiral himself received but £200 a year; the Vice-Admiral £100; a captain £30; a gunner from 4d. to 1s. a day; a carpenter 8d. a day; the Pilot to the Navy £20 a year; the Surveyor of Naval Ordnance £40 a year; the

Treasurer of the Navy £66 13s. 4d. a year; the Victualler of the Navy £58 a year; the Clerk of the Navy £33 6s. 8d.; the Clerk of the Storehouse at Deptford £32 16s. 4d.; and the Master of Naval Ordnance £66 13s. 4d. (100 marks). Nor was there for officers any scheme of half-pay or regular pensions. As for the seamen, they fared little better in the matter of wages than they had fared in earlier periods, and they did not always punctually receive even what was due to them. Their ultimate interests were, however, in some sort provided for by the establishment in 1590 of the benevolent organisation which was known as the Chest at Chatham. Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, then Lord High Admiral, was the prime mover (with Hawkins and Drake) in this reform, which was dictated by the consideration "that by frequent employment by sea for the defence of this kingdom" . . . divers and sundry "masters, mariners, shipwrights, and seafaring men, by reason of hurts and maims received in the service, are driven into great poverty, extremity and want, to their great discouragement." It was therefore determined that perpetual relief should be provided for such cases; and, in order to provide it, it was voluntarily arranged that every man and boy in the Navy should regularly forfeit to the fund a small proportion of his monthly wages, such contributions to be from time to time placed "in a strong chest with five locks to that purpose especially provided." The constitution of the Chest was subsequently amended and altered, chiefly in consequence of the manner in which the funds were at one time abused; and, down to a quite recent period, the benefit society, thus set on foot by the seamen who had commanded against the Armada, did its good work in England. The original chest itself remains to this day, carefully preserved in the Museum of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich.

It is scarcely to be supposed that under a princess of Elizabeth's temperament any of the pretensions, either of the country or of the Crown, were voluntarily surrendered; and, naturally enough, the proud claim to the honour of the flag was, by her officers, insisted upon with greater determination than ever before. Sir Richard Hawkins tells us how his father, the great Sir John, once enforced this claim. A Spanish fleet was on its way to fetch Anne of Austria, wife of Philip II., from Flanders. Sir John Hawkins, with a small English squadron,

lay in Catwater; and the Spanish Admiral, perceiving him there, nevertheless endeavoured to pass into Plymouth Sound without paying the usual salute. Sir John at once ordered the gunner of his own ship to fire at the Spaniard's rigging, and then, no notice being taken, to fire at the Spaniard's hull; whereupon the strangers took in their flags, lowered their top-sails, and anchored. The Admiral presently sent an officer of rank to carry his compliments and his remonstrances to Sir John, who, at the gangway, refused either to hear or to admit



THE CHEST, GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

(By permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.)

the messenger, and bade him tell his chief that, having neglected the respect due to the Queen of England in her seas and port, and having so large a fleet at his command, he must not expect to lie there, but must weigh and be gone in twelve hours; otherwise he would be regarded as an enemy, and so treated, his conduct being already suspicious. Receiving the message, the Spanish Admiral in person went alongside Sir John's flagship, the *Jesus of Lubeck*. Sir John, after some demur, consented to speak to him; and, when he had listened to a long expostu-

lation, informed the Spaniard that he had only himself to blame, and indeed spoke so firmly and convincingly that the foreigner at last not only admitted his fault, but submitted to a penalty which Sir John imposed upon him. The flag of the period was still the simple red cross of St. George upon a white ground—the flag which, hoisted on board ship at the main, is now used only as an ensign of rank by a British admiral; but Elizabethan ships-of-war, although they always carried the St. George's flag, and generally carried it as well at the fore-topgallant-mast as at the mizzen-top-mast truck, usually wore other flags also. A contemporary print of the *Ark Royal*, flagship in 1558 of Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, shows her with four masts—the fore-mast and after-mast having the St. George's flag at their trucks, the mainmast having the Royal Standard (as flag of the Lord High Admiral), and the third mast having a flag bearing a Tudor Rose. In addition, from one end of the fore-topgallant-yard flies a pennant-shaped streamer bearing a lion rampant (perhaps for Fitzalan); from the foretop flies a similarly-shaped streamer bearing an anchor; from the maintop flies a third pennant of a striped pattern; and from the spritsail-yard flies another striped pennant, surcharged with a St. George's Cross. At the waist appears a large banner, having on it the Lord High Admiral's private arms.

The Mis-
manage-
ment of
the Navy.

It is impossible to read the despatches and official correspondence of the critical Armada year without being strongly impressed by the fact that the miscarriage of the Spanish attempt was due much more to the devotion of the English officers and seamen afloat than to the forethought of the authorities on shore. The Navy certainly did its duty gloriously; but the administration disgraced itself. And when one speaks of the administration of 1588, one means the Queen. Her personal penuriousness kept the seamen unpaid, the ships ill-victualled, and the magazines inadequately supplied. On the last day of July Hawkins wrote, from the *Victory* at sea, to Walsingham, pointing out the absolute necessity of constant and copious supplies of ammunition, and continuing:—"The men have been long unpaid and need relief. I pray your Lordship that the money which should have gone to Plymouth may now be sent to Dover. August is now coming in, and this coast will spend ground tackle, cordage, canvas, and provisions,



LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM.

(Greenwich Hospital: By permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.)

all of which should be sent to Dover in good plenty." On the day after Easter Day, Howard wrote to Burghley:—"I thought good to remind your Lordship how necessary it is to have a better provision of victuals than for one month. . . . I think since ever there were ships in this realm it was never heard of that but a month's victuals was prepared for to victual withal." On May 18th, the Admiral wrote again from Plymouth:—"We have here now but eighteen days' victuals, and there is none to be gotten in all this country; and what that is, to go without to sea, your Lordship may judge." "But," he continued, "though we starve, we will push forward to meet the enemy." On June 19th, he wrote a touching appeal to Walsingham. "For the love of God," he said, "do not let her Majesty care for charges"; and, a few days later, he besought the Queen personally, "for the love of Jesus Christ," to rouse herself to the miserable case of the gallant men who were guarding her honour and her throne. When provisions and ammunition did reach the fleet they appeared only in grudging quantities.¹ Indeed, the recollection of Elizabeth's treatment of her splendid defenders at that time is enough to make a cool man's blood boil. In that very year she had been considering a proposal whereby she could further diminish the cost to herself of her unpaid and underfed seamen, by giving them fish, oil, and peas instead of meat. She could, she found, in that way cut down the victualling expenses by one half. In that very year, too, she had taunted Sir Francis Drake with having used too much powder and shot in "mere practice." If her devoted officers had waited for her to succour them, and if they had not purchased out of their private resources supplies for their ships, the fleet could not, as a whole at least, have proceeded to sea at all. The destitution occasioned by the miserly remissness of her Majesty must have

¹ Prof. Laughton (Introduction to Vol. I. of the State Papers relating to the defeat of the Armada, p. lvii., Navy Records Society, 1894) says:—"The Queen had nothing to do with the victualling of the fleet. No doubt she insisted on rigid economy in everything; no doubt Burghley and Walsingham knew that their accounts would be subjected to a strict, probably an unsympathetic scrutiny," etc. But this does not altogether clear Elizabeth. The charge against her is not that she was careful in legitimate matters, but that, knowing of the misery of her seamen, she did not interfere to correct it. A personal sovereign of Elizabeth's type cannot like a modern constitutional monarch, find shelter behind her Ministers. Moreover, she must have known that her previous economies risked the physical efficiency of the men.

increased, if indeed it did not originate, the pestilence which raged in the squadron; and, to the shame of Elizabeth, it must be recorded that neither the sick nor the wounded—the sufferers in her cause—ever received any proper care or treatment at her charges. Elizabeth's theatrical appearance at Tilbury is a picture that has always filled a large space in the popular eye. The spectacle of the great Queen endeavouring, at a moment of national crisis, to hoard up a few pounds at the sacrifice of the health of 20,000 seamen is a less inspiring one. Yet it should not be forgotten so long as the other is remembered. Greater than even her father, she was meaner than even her grandfather.

England's
Naval
Power.

Yet, although Elizabeth was, on this and other occasions, parsimonious to the verge of peril, she possessed a large fund of statesmanlike forethought, and she enjoyed the advantage of being served throughout her long reign by men of unrivalled enterprise and ability. To her forethought the country owes the establishment of Chatham Dockyard, which she planted on the site of the present Gunwharf, and the fortifications of the Medway. To her servants the country owes a most remarkable extension, especially in the Western world, of English maritime influence. Much of that influence was secured by what, judged by modern canons, must be regarded as illegitimate and piratical methods, and was won at the expense of Spain—a power with which, until the eve of the sailing of the Armada, England was nominally at peace. But the informal wars which, almost continuously, were waged by English adventurers against the Spanish settlements in the new hemisphere, were waged with equal pertinacity by the Spaniards, who thus had little to complain of. The results were all to the disadvantage of Spain, and all to the advantage of England. Apart from the solid gains which we won, and from the prestige acquired, we profited in various minor ways by every one of these expeditions. England had always had a considerable section of the population inclined to a life of adventure and peril. Before Elizabeth's day the tendencies of that section had, in peace time, generally found scope in the business of smuggling or piracy in home waters; and, in consequence, the narrow seas had been unsafe, and the revenues had suffered greatly. The opening, in South and Central America and in the Pacific, of new fields for restless energy, not only drew away from home numbers of turbulent

spirits, but also, in course of time, returned them, infused with discipline, hardened by peril, tempered by experience, and transformed into splendid seamen. Moreover, those of them who came back after having done well for themselves—and they were many—reverted no more to their old irregular courses. They may have been, and sometimes certainly were, unscrupulous fellows enough while at sea in the presence of a Spaniard. On their own Devonshire slopes they were honest and public-spirited citizens. And, if the lust for adventure still inspired them, it was open to them, during the latter part of the reign, to enter the Queen's service, and to fight Spaniards to their heart's content under the sanction of regularly recognised hostilities.

The
Chartered
Pirates :
Hawkins.

The piracies of the Elizabethan sea heroes must, almost from the commencement of the reign, have been excessively galling to Spain, and it is astonishing that so proud and warlike a country should have delayed until 1588 before undertaking official reprisals of any serious kind. During his second voyage, begun in 1564, John Hawkins (p. 675) more than once, at the sword's point, obliged the Spaniards of what is now Venezuela to trade with him upon his own terms, his usual method being to march a hundred of his ruffians, fully armed, into any town that sought to levy duties of which he did not approve. During his third voyage, begun in 1567, he pursued the same violent policy. At Rio de la Hacha, where trade was prohibited, he landed 200 men, took the town by storm, and had his own way. At San Juan de Ulloa, where he actually took credit to himself for not falling upon and seizing a Spanish treasure fleet, he occupied and fortified an island in Spanish territory, and behaved in so arbitrary a fashion as to induce the Spaniards to attack him. It is possible that the Spaniards behaved badly, and it is certain that they were guilty of many cruelties, but the provocation given was most flagrant. A little later, when Queen Elizabeth, on the pretence that it was contraband of war, had seized a large sum of money destined for the Duke of Alva, and when it was generally believed that, in revenge, Alva and the King of Spain were endeavouring to stir up rebellion in England, English cruisers put to sea in such numbers to prey upon Spanish commerce, and did so much damage that the Queen, fearing to be involved in open war, issued a proclamation in which she

forbade, not so much the depredations as the purchase by her subjects of the proceeds of them.

Drake's operations against Spain were dictated in the first instance by personal considerations only. He had lost his fortune in Hawkins' third voyage, and, aware of the impossibility,



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

(From a painting on panel at Trinity House, by permission of the Elder Brethren.)

and perhaps of the unreasonableness, of any peaceful arrangement whereby he might obtain compensation, he made the work of securing satisfaction by force the business of his life for many years. He did not take the trouble to pretend that his proceedings were legal. On the other hand, he discreetly kept his projects secret. But he was no worse than many other adventurers of his day. The first craft he met with after his arrival

in American waters in 1572 was the pirate bark of James Rawse, who had just captured a Spanish caravel and sloop, and who was glad to join his forces with those of the expedition. It is impossible to defend Drake's descent on Nombre de Dios, his innumerable captures on land and sea, and his various high-handed proceedings; but it is equally impossible not to admire his undaunted boldness and never-failing resource.

Oxenham.

While Drake was preparing for a new expedition, John Oxenham borrowed the great freebooter's mantle, and in 1575, lying near the Pearl Islands, took two rich plate ships. He might have got away with his prizes, but his own indiscretions led to his capture, and it is not surprising that he and all those of his associates who were taken, except some boys, were condemned as pirates. Andrew Barker was another of those who, while Drake was making ready for more serious operations, harried Spain. He captured several valuable prizes, and would have returned with his gains had not his followers mutinied and allowed him to fall into Spanish hands.

William Cox succeeded to the command, and took the town of Truxillo; but he lost one of his ships in bad weather, and when he returned to England he was not much better off than he had been at his departure. Drake, in his voyage of circumnavigation, was more tyrannical than he had ever been before. He seized Portuguese as well as Spanish vessels, he sacked towns, he robbed private individuals, he despoiled churches. He made himself master of more gold and silver than sufficed to ballast his ship, and when he reached England he was favoured by the Queen. But there were not a few personages of consequence who, regarding Drake as little better than a common cut-throat, declined to countenance him; and even the Queen was constrained to make some kind of reparation when Drake's enormities were formally brought to her notice by the Spanish Ambassador, although in her public language she defended him.

Fenton.

Edward Fenton, in 1582-83, headed another expedition which was essentially piratical. Drake's expedition of 1585-86 was less so, for although he went mainly for his own profit, and although there was as yet no war between England and Spain, the great seaman carried with him regular letters of reprisals. George, Duke of Cumberland, and Raleigh, in 1586, were, however, as

frank pirates at heart as had ever set sail from English harbours, and of all these worthies it may be said that with them personal gain and love of excitement provided stronger promptings than patriotism or a sense of right. But, while we condemn their motives and many of their actions, we must not forget that they trained a splendid set of fighting seamen for the country, and established traditions of steadfast courage which have ever since inspired the British Navy. Nor were their exploits often tainted with deliberate cruelty.

The naval resources of the kingdom became the subject of two very interesting inquiries in the years immediately preceding the attempt of the Armada. One, made in 1583, was, in effect, a census of the seafaring population of England, exclusive of Wales. It showed that there were then 1,484 masters, 11,515 mariners, 2,299 fishermen, and 957 Thames wherry-men, or in all 16,255 persons who were, in some sort, accustomed to the sea. The other, made in 1587-88, was a computation compiled, by means of certificates, of the number of ships in England. It showed that there were 182 vessels of 100 tons and upwards, 180 of 80 but less than 100 tons, and 1,392 of less than 80 tons, or in all 1,755. London, with 129, headed the list of towns; Norfolk, with 241, the list of counties. The Cinque Ports, it is curious to note, were returned as possessing 220 vessels, not one of which, however, was of 80 tons or upwards.

The charges of the navy at this most critical period of its history were, even if full allowance be made for the then relatively high purchasing power of money, astonishingly small. In the year of the Armada the total payments were only £90,837 2s. 2½d. In the eleven years ending with 1588 they were no more than £248,996 14s. 9d., and at the end of the period the treasurer had a balance in hand of above £4,600.

The classification of men-of-war into "rates," or their special adaptation for particular duties, was not attempted in Elizabeth's reign; but in the closing years of the sixteenth century Sir Robert Dudley, commonly called Duke of Northumberland, put forward a plan for the reconstruction of the fleet upon principles the general outlines of which were long after his death adopted. He proposed the building of vessels of seven types, of which the first was the galleon, of two complete gun decks, carrying 80 guns: the second, the rambargo, with one complete covered gun

England's
Naval
Resources.

Naval
Charges.

Proposed
Naval
Reforms.

deck, carrying 58 guns; the third, the galizabra, carrying 48 guns; the fourth, the frigate, carrying 36 guns; the fifth, the galley, to be propelled by sweeps, and to carry only a few heavy guns; the sixth, the galerata; and the seventh, the passa-volante. His first four classes became, roughly speaking, the first four classes of the ships of the Royal Navy of the Commonwealth period. Sir Robert caused to be built for himself a small specimen of his proposed galleon, and made a satisfactory voyage to India in her in 1594; but he did not carry his projected reforms further, and most of his ideas remained in a purely theoretical condition at the day of his death. They no doubt inspired some of the great constructors who followed him, and although it may be admitted that many of his plans were mistaken, it must be confessed that many were also singularly in advance of his age, and that all were well reasoned out and solidly based upon such rude general principles of marine architecture as were then known. To him certainly belongs the merit of having first publicly advocated the building of war-ships suited for the various services for which experience had already begun to show that war-ships were required. He first grasped the ideas which to-day give us vessels with the characteristic qualities of battle-ships, cruisers, gun-vessels, and despatch-vessels.

CHARLES
RAYMOND
BEAZLEY.
*Exploration
under
Elizabeth.*

ENGLISH exploration in the age of Elizabeth is one of the main lines of national progress. It is no longer a by-path of our history; it is more and more plainly connected with that essential development of English life on which our empire depended and depends. For it was in the latter half of the sixteenth century that the New World in East and West, by sea and land, was fully revealed to our countrymen, as it had been disclosed to Italians and Portuguese, to Frenchmen and Spaniards in the earlier years of the same century; the excitement, the hopes and fears, the boundless expectations, the astonishing achievements which had gone to inspire the heroic age of the countrymen of Columbus and Cortez, of Da Gama and Magellan, were all realised over again by the islanders of the Protestant North. Under Elizabeth our forefathers entered into the fulness of the national Renaissance for which they had been slowly educated since the Tudor dynasty began.

To follow Hakluyt's own divisions as we have followed them before, we have to look at the expansion of England in three directions—to S. and S.E., to N. and N.E., and to W. On all these sides the advance made under Elizabeth is so great as to dwarf all earlier efforts, though it is on the American or Western side that the development is most striking, novel, and suggestive. Yet we cannot forget that results hardly less tremendous were involved in the Eastern ventures of the reign: if between 1578 and 1585 the first steps were taken towards the settlement of those English colonies which at last became the United States of America, the charter of 1600 granted to the East India Company is no less clearly the beginning of the English empire in India.

The first English voyages round the globe, the discovery of the North Cape of Europe, of the White Sea, and of the empire of Muscovy or of Russia, the opening of Persia, Tartary, and Malabar to English trade, the immense extension of English commerce and enterprise on the Mediterranean and African coasts, in the Newfoundland fisheries, and in the Guinea slave-market, the partial successes and daring achievements in the Arctic seas, in the enterprises of a N.E. or N.W. passage to Cathay, are of only less importance than the beginnings of the American colonies and the Indian dominion; and, taken together with these, they explain perhaps better than anything else, except our literature, why the age of Elizabeth means more to England than any other epoch. The victory over Spain and the Catholic Reaction, the glory of the Armada year, is itself the outcome of the nation's development upon and over sea, as much as of a healthy, a supremely active life at home. It was at this time that England first saw what it could do—first laid hold of imperial ambition.

I. First, of voyages to S. and S.E., we have that of Robert Africa. Baker to Guinea in October, 1562, described in form of a rhyming chronicle,¹ which tells the story of the negro robberies

¹ Which shows the novelty even then of this coast and its negroes to English sailors :—

“ And rowing long, at last
A river we espy . . .
And, entering in, we see
A number of black souls,
Whose likeness seemed men to be

But all as black as coals.
Their captain came to me
As naked as my nail,
Not having wit or honesty
To cover once his tail.”

of the white men's merchandise, and the desperate fight that ensued in some unnamed river of the Guinea coast. In his second voyage (Nov., 1563) Baker reached La Mina, and heard the natives talk Portuguese; but he was separated from his ships, and passed some time in miserable captivity among the negroes.¹

Public interest in the profitable gold and blacks of Guinea was not allowed to slacken. On July 11, 1564, there was a meeting at Sir William Gerard's home "for the setting-forth of a voyage" to that coast, "the success of which," we are told, "in part appeareth by certain relations extracted out of the second voyage of Sir John Hawkins" in 1564. The "success," however, was not without a check, one of the vessels being blown up, and the flagship, the *Minion*, beaten off with loss by the "Portugals."

Passing by the voyages of Fenner and others,² our next memorial, the letter of Thomas Stevens from Goa (1579), mentions English pirates cruising off Madeira and the Canaries, who attacked the Portuguese ship in which Stevens was sailing; describes the great rolling seas off the Cape of Tempests or Good Hope,—“the point so famous and feared of all men”; and distinguishes two routes to India from Natal,—one by the channel of Mozambique “where ships refresh themselves,” the other outside Madagascar (St. Lawrence Island) when the season is too advanced for the other course.

The
Mediterranean.

In the Mediterranean the Turkey trade was steadily pressed forward under Elizabeth, as under Henry VIII. In June, 1580, the Charter of Liberties to English merchants in Turkey is formally issued; a year later, certain disorders committed by

¹ Already, in 1561, the veteran seaman John Lok had been ordered by the “Worshipful Company of Merchant Adventurers to Guinea” to “procure to understand what rivers and harbours there be there, and to make a plan thereof, and to learn what commodities belong to the places touched at.” But this voyage was put off.

² The worthy enterprise of John Fox, in delivering 266 Christians out of the captivity of the Turks at Alexandria (Jan. 3, 1577), can only be mentioned here, though it is, as a story, one of the most stirring and brilliant of this time; and in the same way the interesting “Embassage of Edmund Hogan to Morocco” (1577) is only to be noticed for the evidence it gives of Spanish intrigues to prevent any such new openings of English enterprise, and of previous English broils with the Barbary Corsairs and the Emperor of Morocco.

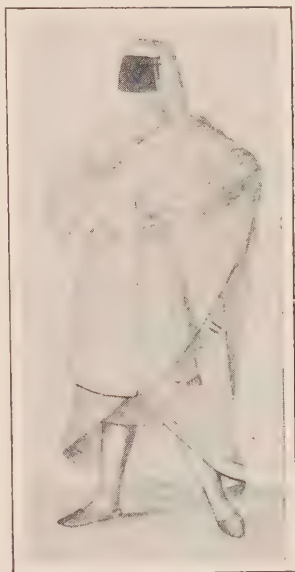
English freebooters in the Levant are to be redressed; at the same time occurs the voyage of Lawrence Aldersey to Jerusalem and Tripolis.

Further evidence for this Mediterranean enterprise is given us by Hakluyt's "Notes on the Trade of Algiers and Alexandria." In Algiers, we are told, the surest lodging for a Christian is in a Jew's house: "for if he have any hurt, the Jew shall make it good; so he taketh great care of the Christian."

Once more, the journeys of Mr. John Newberie tell a story of English intercourse, not only with the Levant, but with lands as far distant as Bengal. Newberie started from Falmouth, March 11th, 1583, and reached Syria in May. His chief purpose was trade, and for this he found Aleppo an excellent centre, as he sends word by George Gill, purser of the *Tiger*. But at Babylon he becomes more despondent as to commercial prospects. Beyond Babylon his route lay through Bassora to Ormuz, where he writes "from out of prison, for that, as they say, I brought letters from Don Antonio," the Pretender to the Portuguese Crown, just annexed by Philip II. Sent on to Goa to answer, before the Viceroy, the various charges

brought against him, Newberie met Thomas Stevens, now a professed Jesuit, who procured his release through the mediation of the Archbishop, and enabled him to start a flourishing trade in Malabar. With Newberie was also discharged the famous Ralph Fitch, who tells us the whole story of their persecution at the hands of Italian rivals; "for the Italians," he adds, "are our great enemies for this trade."

Fitch reappears later: for the present we must return to the Levant voyages, recorded under the year 1586, of Evesham and Aldersey, whose accounts of the wonders of Egypt are



A MOHAMMEDAN WOMAN.

(J. White's water-colour drawings.)

especially interesting. Alexandria Evesham found "an old thing decayed and ruined, all vaulted underneath for provision of fresh water, which cometh once a year out of one of the four rivers of Paradise, called Nilus." The Court of Pharaoh's Castle reminds him of Gresham's New Exchange in London: the Pyramids are one of the *nine* wonders of the world, "built, as it were, like a pointed diamond, four square, and the height of them, to our judgment, doth surmount twice the height of Paul's steeple"; in Cairo itself is "great store of merchandise out of the East India." Aldersey, after giving us his measurements for Pharaoh's needle, and "Pompey his pillar," discourses pleasantly of "Joseph's House, a sumptuous thing yet standing, having a place to walk in of fifty-six mighty pillars, all gilt with gold," and describes with the accuracy of the witness-box the breadth and height of the Pyramids: "Every of the squares as long as a man may shoot a ranging arrow, and *as high as a church*."

But the English merchants had to fight for their position in the Mediterranean; as the pirate warfare of Spanish and English mariners deepened in the open and legitimate struggle of two nations, the passage through the Straits of Gibraltar became more and more hazardous.¹

Eldred's
Journey to
Babylon.

The voyage of John Eldred to Babylon and Bassora brings us back to the story of John Newberie and Ralph Fitch. Starting from London in their company upon "Shrove Monday," he separated from them in Syria, May 1st, 1583, and traded some time in Tripolis, a city "about the bigness of Bristol," where all Englishmen had to "abide in one house with their Consul, as is the use of all other Christians of several nations." From Tripolis, Eldred went (May 21st, 1583) with a caravan over Lebanon to Aleppo, and then embarked (May 31st) upon the Euphrates at Birrah. After a month's journey he "tock land" again, and crossed a short desert to New Babylon. The voyage had to be made in flat-bottomed boats for the shallowness of the water. In the desert, our traveller saw the ruins

¹ Thus, in 1586 we have a "true report of a worthy fight lasting five hours, performed in the voyage from Turkey by five ships of London against eleven galleys and two frigates of Spain, at Pantaleria, within the Straits." The English vessels, though "intending only a merchant's voyage," are now armed to the teeth; and their success in the Nearer was now leading to more frequent ventures in the Further East.

of the ancient city, with the "Old Tower of Babel, almost as high as the stonework of Paul's steeple in London." New Babylon on the Tigris he found to be a "place of great traffic and a thoroughfare from the East Indies to Aleppo, furnished with victuals from Mosul, called Nineveh in old time, which are brought on rafts borne upon bladders of goats' skins." In 1584 Eldred was in Bassora, "built of sun-dried bricks and having a good port, where come monthly ships from Ormuz, with Indian merchandise, which ships are sewn together with cord made of the bark of date-trees, having no kind of iron-work, save only their anchors." Here he heard of Newberie's arrest, and after finishing his business in Bassora, struggled up the river for forty-four days to Babylon, and thence made his way back to Aleppo overland, with a caravan of four thousand camels, noticing on his way the "Springs of Tar" or bitumen, near the Euphrates."¹

He returned to England early in the Armada year, but Ralph Fitch, who had left London with him in 1583, did not reappear at home till 1591. Accompanying Newberie from Aleppo to Ormuz, and from Ormuz to Goa, the follower went far beyond his leader, and was one of the first Englishmen who visited for trade or any other object, Bengal, Malacca, and "all the coast of the East India." His account, of no small value in connection with the great exploring movement of his countrymen at this time, and containing some of the earliest English first-hand notices of the further East, is not without some of the spice of quick and humorous observation.²

Fitch in
the East
Indies.

Reaching Ormuz, "down the Gulf of Persia in a ship made of boards sewed together with thread of the husk of cocoas,"

¹ After this, his first return from the Persian Gulf, Eldred not only made two more journeys to Babylon on business, but, "as one desirous to see the country," travelled to Antioch, Joppa, Jerusalem, and the Sea of Sodom, "of which places, because others have published large discourses, I surcease to write."

² Against the Arab thieves of the Euphrates he tells us, "A gun is good, for they do fear it much." He heartily despised the Brahmins of India, "a kind of crafty people worse than the Jews," and their images, "some like beasts, some like men, and some like the Devil"; still more the Fakirs—"prating and dissembling hypocrites" to whom India was much given. One such he saw "sitting upon a horse in the market-place," who "made as though he slept;" the people "took him for a great man, but sure he was a lazy lubber."

Fitch tells us about the great Portuguese emporium—"the driest island in the world, with nothing growing in it but only salt."

On the way to Goa he notices Diu, near the modern Bombay, then "the strongest town that the Portugals have in these parts," and passing by Chaul, still on the same journey, he relates in a half-bewildered manner the strange customs of the natives: the veneration of the cow, the horror of killing any living thing, the practice of suttee, the burning of the dead.

At Goa, "the most principal city that the Portugals have in India," Fitch found things, in spite of the kind offices of Father Stephens, so dangerous that he "determined presently to seek liberty rather than for ever to be a slave," and so, on the 5th April, 1585, plunged into the heart of the Deccan, and made his way by Golconda, "where be the Diamonds of the Old Water," to Agra and the Court of the Great Mogul at Futtehpur. Both these cities he thought "much greater than London"; they inflamed his desire to see more; and while Newberie started for Lahore, "determining thence to go for Persia," he gladly obeyed his superior's order to visit Bengal and Pegu, and sailed down the Jumna and the Ganges to the mouth of the Hoogly. Merchants from China and Tartary, Fitch tells us, were to be seen in numbers down in the bay of Bengal, the latter "apparelled with woollen clothes and hats, white hosen and boots of Muscovy or Tartaria."

In Pegu we hear of the lake dwellings, the palanquins, the houses built on piles, the boat-huts, and the white elephants of the natives and their king. Travelling inland, Fitch met another concourse of Chinese merchants; but though now so near, he did not go on to the Celestial empire. Turning south to Malacca, he saw there the famous fort built by Albuquerque in 1512-13, and noticed with some surprise the immense energy and vast expenditure of the Portuguese in maintaining their East Indian trade and empire.

On March 29th, 1588, Fitch turned back from Malacca, his furthest point, and slowly made his way first to Pegu and Bengal, then to Ceylon, where he seems to have seen the Portuguese fort at Colombo, and to Malabar, where he tells us "how pepper groweth," and how the Nairs, or fighting caste of Calicut, "have always wars with the Portugals." Thence



VIEW OF GOA. (Braun and Hogenberg, "Civitates Orbis Terrarum," 1573.)

he retraced his steps to Ormuz, the Euphrates, and Aleppo, making a special journey to visit Mosul, "near to Nineveh, all ruined and destroyed," and arriving again in England on April 29th, 1591, after eight years of absence.

Round
the Cape
to the
Indies.

The last of these voyages to S. and S.E.¹ which need be noticed here is that of Raymond and Lancaster round the Cape of Good Hope in 1591; and we may add a mention of the naval expeditions to the West African coast, and to the "South quarters of the world outside the Straits," especially in 1589, 1590, and 1591, which gave England the heroic episode of the last fight of Richard Grenville in the *Revenge*.

Ralph Fitch had won a name chiefly by overland travel; Raymond and Lancaster's venture was entirely maritime. Leaving Plymouth on April 10th, 1591, they made, like Cabral in 1500, a wide sweep westward to Brazil to avoid the currents of the African coast, doubled the Cape with some difficulty after a meeting with "certain black savages, very brutish, who would not stay," and were then nearly wrecked upon the shoals of Madagascar, but just saved by a bright moonlight night.

After touching at some of the Moorish settlements along the East African coast, the English crew found rest and shelter at Zanzibar, in spite of the treachery, the "false and spiteful dealing of the Portugals," and thence "set forward for the East India," steering for Cape Comorin, "the headland of the Main of Malabar," meaning there to lie off and on for ships from Ceylon, Bengal, Malacca, China, and Japan," which ships are of exceeding wealth." In May, 1592, they reached the Cape; by June 1 they were close upon Sumatra, when winter came upon them "with much contagious weather," and they had to lie up till the end of August. Then sailing on to

¹ A very large number are recorded in Hakluyt's collection which contain points of interest, but which must be omitted here, as there is only space to notice representative journeys. But cf. the narratives of William Huddie's voyage in 1583, of James Welsh's in 1590, of Raynold's and Daniel's in 1591, of Burrough's in the same year, and of the Earl of Cumberland's fleet in 1594—all to the west coast of Africa. Also the Levantine journeys of Henry Austell in 1586, of Richard Wrag in 1595, with their glowing descriptions of Stamboul, "to be preferred before all the cities of Europe," the patents of 1588 for the Guinea trade, of 1585 for the Barbary commerce, and the embassy of Henry Roberts, with the consequent edicts and documents, to Morocco in the same year, 1585-6.

Malacca, they took a rich galleon, laden, among other things, with "counterfeit stones from Venice, to deceive the rude Indians withal."

Returning to Ceylon, Lancaster was forced by his men to take advantage of a current "that would set them off to the southward from all known land," and to make a straight course for England by the Cape of Good Hope. Prolonged



THE EAST INDIES AS KNOWN IN 1589.

(From the map in R. Hakluyt's "Voyages" ed. 1589.)

calms near the line hindered a quick return. To escape the misery of these delays, Lancaster bent away westward to the American "Indies," and it was not till May 24th, 1594, that he landed at Rye, in Sussex, bringing the news "from some Portugals which he took" that the Coast of China had been lately discovered to the latitude of 59° , and the sea found still open to the northward, giving great hope of the North-East and North-West passages.

Of the other South Atlantic or West African ventures of

this time the voyage of 1591, on which Richard Grenville fought his last fight, and of which Walter Raleigh wrote the story, is the only one that ought, or is likely, to be remembered. The rest are of purely commercial and military interest; but the stand made by the *Revenge* off the Azores, so well known from Tennyson's famous ballad, is one of the most splendid feats of English seamanship and daring in this age of Elizabeth.

The East
India
Company.

The great and permanent result of these triumphs of English enterprise and daring, by the overland as well as by the maritime routes to the East and South-East, was the Association for trading with India formed in London in 1599, which, as the East India Company,¹ received its charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1600, and which was certainly inspired to a great extent by the corresponding successes of the Dutch in these last years of the century. Whenever and wherever *they* had broken up the exclusive hold of Spaniards and Portuguese in the East Indies, Englishmen might hope to follow; and the heroic age of English exploration, the age of Elizabeth, did not pass before the first step had been taken towards that last and greatest of European dominions in the Indian seas which was foreshadowed in the visits of Newberie and Ralph Fitch, of Drake and Cavendish, of Lancaster and the unlucky adventurers of 1596.

Jenkinson
in Asia.

II. Of voyages to the North and North-East, we have already seen the new beginning made under Edward VI. (p. 308), and we have traced the development of this line of enterprise throughout the Tudor period to the end of Mary's reign (p. 325). At that point we had to leave Anthony Jenkinson on his journey "from Moscow to Boghar in Bactria,"

¹ £30,000 were subscribed for the Indian Company in 1599, only four years after the Dutch, in 1595, had sent their first fleet to the Spice Islands. The Queen's hesitation about granting a charter for land and trade, claimed in monopoly by Spain (and Portugal), was removed by a list of countries in the East, to which the Spaniards could not pretend: were they to bar Englishmen "from the use of the vast, wide, and infinitely open Ocean Sea?" The E.I.C. Charter of 1600 was for fifteen years. It empowered the Company to trade to all places in India unclaimed by other Christian nations, to buy land for factories, to make bye-laws, etc. Its first fleet was sent out in 1601, under Sir James Lancaster, the commander of the only successful ship of 1591. He made a treaty with the King of Achin in Sumatra, gained permission to build a factory in the island, and, in alliance with the Dutch, attacked the Portuguese.

upon the banks of the Oxus. Now, while all unknown to him a new reign had begun in England, he was steadily pushing on towards the Tartar capital, which he reached December 23rd, 1558, after a brush with roving brigands.

In Boghar, we are told, a third part of the city was for merchants and markets, "for there is yearly great resort of merchants, which travel in caravans from the countries adjoining, as India, Persia, Balkh, and Russia." In time past, adds Jenkinson, there was trade from Cathay to Boghar, but it was now trifling. Anthony then describes the great commercial routes crossing Bactria, and the commodities brought from and returned to China, India, Persia, and Russia. He was chagrined to find that all the gold, jewels, and spices of the South passed "to the ocean sea," and that "the veins where all such things are gotten" were "in the subjection of the Portugals." The Chinese trade also was not active, as the caravans from Cathay were then in danger from border warfare; "and when the way thither is clear, it is nine months' journey."

So, giving up all idea of reaching the Furthest East, Jenkinson now tried to go south into Persia; but he was compelled to turn back, and, in the company of envoys from the Bactrian Soldans to Czar Ivan the Terrible, at last reached "Mare Caspium" (April 23rd, 1559), after more than six weeks' travel over the steppes. Here he found the bark he came in, but neither anchor, cable, nor sail. "Nevertheless we brought hemp with us and spun a cable ourselves, with the rest of our tackling, and made us a sail of cloth of cotton. And while devising to make an anchor of wood of a cart-wheel" there came a boat from Astrachan with two anchors, which supplied the want, and so, "with the said six ambassadors and twenty-five Russes, which had been slaves a long time in Tartaria," the daring Englishmen set out across the stormy inland sea.¹

¹ He lost his anchor in a tempest, but found it again with the help of the compass, "whereat the Tartars much marvelled." "And note (adds the narrative) that during our navigation we set up the Red Cross of St. George in our flags for honour of the Christians, which I suppose was never seen in the Caspian Sea before." Jenkinson describes the Caspian very carefully, notes that it is "without any issue to other seas," for "it avoideth not itself, except it be underground," and gives a list of the bordering nations and of the great rivers that fall into it, and especially the Volga, whose source "near Novgorod," and its length, "above 2,000 English miles," are related with wonder.



MAP OF RUSSIA, BY

Reaching Astrachan on the 28th May, after fifteen days' sail, the travellers remained there till June 10th "preparing boats to go up against the stream of Volga." Jenkinson's attempt to do a little quiet trading at this time was a failure, and he seems to have despaired of the overland commerce with Persia altogether. In any case, he thought, the Caspian route was hopeless. On June 10th, 1559, under an escort from the Czar, he started for Moscow with the company committed to his charge, and on September 4th he came before Ivan IV. Jenkinson's venerable beard, which a later story declared he could wind three times round himself, was a special delight to the "English" emperor; he was said to stroke it like a holy relic. However this may be, the Czar's personal favour to the London trader was a mainstay of the alliance of the two Courts and countries.

Returning to England to report his discoveries to the company he served—the Merchant Adventurers Trading into Russia—Jenkinson started for the East once again on May 14th, 1561, furnished with letters from the Queen to Ivan IV., and to the Shah, or Grand Sophie, of Persia; as well as with a "remembrance" from the Company suggesting certain explorations, as of the North-East Passage, with a view to further trading profits.

Reaching Moscow on August 20th, and receiving a cordial welcome from the Czar, he set out for Persia on April 27th, 1562, "by the great river of Volga," crossed the Caspian, reached Derbend on August 4th, and soon after entered Hyrcania and Persia, passing the mythical Alexander's "Wall of Gog-Magog" on the way; thence he was sent on to the Court of the Shah at Casben, by way of Tauris (Tabriz). Endangered here by the rivalry of Turks and Venetians, Jenkinson was not well received—called an unbeliever,¹ and put in danger of his life. But the King of Hyrcania befriended him steadily, and on March 20th, 1563, he was dismissed unharmed and made his way back to the Caspian, seizing various chances that occurred on the way of opening up an English commerce in Georgia. He had traded for Ivan as well as for his own Company, and on his return to Moscow (August

¹ "They esteeming all infidels which do not believe in their false filthy prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli" (Ali, the special hero of the Shiah sect).

20th, 1563) he easily gained from the Czar the reward of a new "privilege" for his fellow countrymen in Russia, as extensive as the charter he had won from the King of Hyrcania. On September 28th, 1564, he was again in London, and he did not return to Russia till the summer of 1566—perhaps his "great and extreme dangers, of loss of ship, goods, and life," may have been in part the cause of this.

Jenkinson is the greatest, perhaps, of all our overland travellers in the Elizabethan age; at any rate he is the unquestioned leader of English enterprise in Russia and the North-East; and the subsequent narratives of his servants and successors in Muscovite, Persian, and "Tartarian" trade and exploration may for the most part be taken as reflections of his own account, only adding unimportant details. No one else goes so far into Central Asia; no one else enjoys an equal experience, or shows the same commanding energy of thought and action, on this side.¹

Jenkinson's third journey (1566-7) is mainly of diplomatic interest; its main achievement is the new mercantile privilege gained from Ivan on September 22nd, 1567, and it is to be connected with the Act of 1566 from the English side "for the discovering of new trades," which expressly mentions Media, Persia, Armenia, Hyrcania, and the Caspian Sea among the parts to which the Muscovy Company's monopoly extended.

In the same way Thomas Randolph's Embassy to the Czar in 1568 is mainly concerned with the new trading "privilege," the most interesting clause of which declares that "when the Company send to the discovery of Cathaya (China), they shall be licensed to repair unto this country of Russia, and have such conducts and guides, vessels, men, and victuals as

Randolph.

Thus the voyage into Persia of Thomas Alcock, who was killed there, and of Richard Cheinie, who carried on his work (1563-64), is only a version of some of the incidents that followed upon Jenkinson's last journey; it throws fresh light on one point—the "vicious living" of some of the English merchants, which had made them to be "counted worse than the Russes." The travels and letters of Arthur Edwards and Richard Johnson are evidence of a slow but steady extension of English commerce in Persia, and of growth of English knowledge upon the Asiatic trade routes, but they are nothing more; and the curious account by Sowtham and Sparke of their journey on the waterway in the interior of European Russia from Colmogro to Novgorod, performed with a pilot "none of the perfectest" (1566), cannot be more than barely noticed here.

they shall stand in need of." That such an attempt was in preparation at this time we see from a commission given by Randolph in 1568, appointing three persons—James Bassardine, James Woodcock, and Richard Brown—"in a voyage of discovery to be made by them for searching of the sea," from the River Petchora to the eastwards, but no serious attempt was made to realise this till 1580.

The next group of documents in Hakluyt's collection refers to Arthur Edwards' fourth voyage into Persia, and is full of revelations of difficulties as to the practical working of the Persian¹ venture—the Shah's letters being often regarded "but as a straw in the wind."

In 1571–72 we come back to Anthony Jenkinson—restoring the good understanding that had been for a time broken between England and Russia, obtaining the release of English merchants who had offended the Czar, and procuring the renewal of the old mercantile privileges. The evil doings of the Company's agents, he declares, had been the sole cause of the rupture.

Jenkin-
son's
Travels.

This is the last time that Anthony appears prominently in the history of English exploration, and Hakluyt here appends a list of the countries visited by him since his first important journey began on October 2nd, 1546, before the death of Henry VIII. All the western lands of Europe he had "thoroughly travelled"; he had been through the Levant seas and in all the chief islands of the same, in many parts of Greece, through the length and breadth of Syria, in North Africa, in Norway, Lapland, and the Arctic Ocean—while no Western of his day had anything like the same personal knowledge of Russia, Northern Persia, and Turkestan.

The N.E.
Passage.

With 1580 we come to a resumption of the serious attempts to find the North-East Passage—this time by Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman, who, starting on May 30th, and keeping pretty steadily in latitude 70°, passed between Nova Zembla and the

¹ At the same time George Turberville, Randolph's secretary, writes home a bitter complaint of the Russian winter and people:

"Wild Irish are as civil as the Russes in their kind,
Hard choice which is the best of both—each bloody, rude, and blind."

"Live still at home," is his rather commonplace advice to his friends, "and covet not these barbarous coasts to see."

mainland, coasted the island of Vaigats, and were then stopped: "Winds we had at will, but ice and fog against our wills, if it had pleased the Lord God otherwise." The results of the voyage were painfully disappointing. Both as to the North-East and North-West passages the confidence and hopes of students at home were in exactly inverse proportion to the practical chances of success, and even to the amount of discovery realised in these directions.

With the death of Ivan the Terrible (1584) the English traders and travellers in Russia fell under a cloud; Dutch interlopers began to threaten the English monopoly, and in spite of embassies like those of Sir Jerome Bowes, of Jerome Horsey, of Giles Fletcher, the Muscovite empire now ceased for many years to be an English high-road to the Further East and a main field of English commerce.¹

Decline of
English
Trade
with
Russia.

III. Lastly, of voyages to the West, to America, we have a great and representative collection in Hakluyt himself, with a number of other notices, and it is, of course, in this direction that we must look for the most distinctive and prominent achievements of English exploration and the first movements towards English colonisation in the age of Elizabeth.

Voyages
Westward.

First of all, we have to deal with a series of trading ventures, such as those of John Hawkins, in 1562 and 1564, and of Roger Bodenham in 1564. Hawkins' "third unfortunate voyage" of 1567-68, was the story of an attempt like that of 1564 to force the Spanish settlements in the West Indies to trade with him for negro slaves, in face of King Philip's prohibition. The cheerful insolence of the English captain "forcing to friendly commerce" was not now so completely successful as on the earlier voyages. But, though foiled in his slave-dealing, he ranged the coast of Florida, noticed and described, all too vividly, the "sobbing" crocodiles of the Rio de la Hacha, formed the conclusion that "labourers, not loiterers," were necessary to inhabit new countries, and observed the "mystery of tobacco, and the virtue thereof." Not only was gold and silver plentiful in Florida, he reported, but unicorns flourished there most remarkably. To settle and

¹ The writings of Horsey and Fletcher bring us to the last of the notices remaining of Elizabethan exploration in this quarter (*cf.* Fletcher's "Russ Commonwealth").

colonise this country would be an "attempt requisite for a prince of power"; the increase from cattle alone, without counting the precious metals, would raise profit sufficient.

Drake.

Two famous expeditions to Central America, immediately following, are related in Hakluyt, both from English and Spanish accounts—the first voyage of Francis Drake to Nombre de Dios in 1572, and the last voyage of John Oxenham "over the isthmus of Darien" in 1575. Drake, the Spaniards declared, was repulsed in his attack, but gained



SOUTH AMERICA AND THE ANTARCTIC CONTINENT.

(Hakluyt's Map of 1589.)

great plunder by his seizure of the treasure mules on their way from Panama; and by his burning of the "House of Crosses" he was said to have destroyed 200,000 "ducats in merchandise."¹

Oxenham.

Oxenham, who met the fate which would infallibly have befallen Drake if he had ever been taken, fell into Spanish hands in trying "that which never any man before enterprised." Hiding his ship under boughs and earth in a little cove on the Atlantic side of the isthmus, he went some twelve

¹ This buccaneering, of course, going on while peace nominally subsisted between the Courts of London and Madrid, Drake and most of the other English adventurers at this time were looked on by the Spaniards simply as pirates.

leagues inland till he came to the watershed of a river that flowed into the Pacific. Then, making a pinnacle 45 feet long, to carry himself and his men, he sailed down into that "Spanish" or "Southern" Sea which few, if any, Englishmen had ever entered before. Here he reaped a rich harvest of plunder, but trying to return by the way he had come, he was



THE ATLANTIC OCEAN, WITH SOME IMAGINARY ISLANDS.

(Hakluyt's Map of 1589)

pursued, and his route up stream discovered by the "feathers of hens" that came floating down from his boat. Taken prisoner with most of his men, he suffered as a pirate at Lima, while King Philip, in alarm at the new daring of the English buccaneers, "built galleys to keep the seas."

With all this practical energy westwards there was naturally a good deal of speculation. Before Martin Frobisher resumed Cabot's attempts in the direction of a North-West passage,

The N.W.
Passage.

the feasibility of this scheme had been eagerly discussed, and a national interest was now aroused which had been quite wanting in earlier time, when the project had been broached under the first Tudors by learned men.

Thus we have Humphrey Gilbert's Discourse to prove a passage by the North-West to Cathay and the East Indies, which undertakes to show, first by authority and second by experience, that this passage existed, and that the opening of it had been already made. In this the writer revives arguments alleged for the North-East passage by Anthony Jenkinson, answering them one by one in favour of the less tried, and so more hopeful, Western experiment.¹

Frobisher.

From this theorising we come to the most important of those achievements which suggested and supported it. The three voyages of Martin Frobisher, in 1576, 1577, and 1578, "for the search of the North-West passage," though they came far short of their ultimate object, resulted in a great extension of English and European knowledge along the coasts of Labrador, Greenland, and the American side of the Arctic Basin. He first started from Greenwich on June 13th, 1576. Sighting land on the 28th July, "supposed to be Labrador, with great store of ice about," the admiral named it *Meta Incognita*, and coasted it steadily till the 26th August; on the 19th he had sight of the country people—the Esquimaux of the far North of America and of Greenland. Trusting the natives too much, five of the Englishmen were made prisoners, and all efforts to regain them were futile. Equally disappointing was the "hope of the passage."

The next year (May 31st, 1577) Frobisher started again with a larger ship, "for the further discovering of the way to Cathay." On July 4th he sighted the coast, near the landfall of

¹ Richard Wilkes also wrote to the same effect. At any rate, (1) the N.E. and N.W. schemes then looked as feasible as the S.E. and S.W. had looked 100 years before. With the successes of Diaz and Da Gama, Columbus and Magellan, in the near past, the plans of Willoughby, of Cabot, of Gilbert, or of Jenkinson did not seem at all impossible; and (2) though the schemes themselves failed, they led to a great deal of incidental gain—*e.g.* the trade with Russia, the Newfoundland Fisheries, and the English discoveries in the N.E. and N.W. Even the American Colonies as first founded were not without reference to the N.W. attempts. Virginia would be a good half-way house, some thought, for Labrador and Frobisher's Straits.



MARTIN FROBISHER.

(Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

the previous year, mountainous and forbidding, within strong barriers of ice and snow; passing through the strait named after himself, and searching anxiously for traces of gold, he took possession of the country (20th July, 1577) and loaded the ship with the stones and earth supposed to contain precious ore. For he and his men expected "a much more benefit out of the bowels of the Septentrional parallels" (or Arctic circle) than had ever been dreamt of. The natives proved quite hopeless, and on the 23rd August, as the "maze" of ice ahead seemed impenetrable, Frobisher turned back for England with the cargo which it was hoped would reward the adventure, but which was only, as Hakluyt sorrowfully admits, to add another to the proof "that all is not gold that glisteneth."

The third voyage was a more sustained and serious, but not a more successful, attempt. Frobisher had first sailed in 1576 with two tiny barks of twenty-five and twenty tons apiece; now, in 1578, in the new hope of enormous profits from the golden ore of *Meta Incognita*, a fleet of fifteen sail was prepared. The Queen herself bore a share of the expense, the sons of many of the English gentry embarked as volunteers, and 100 men were specially picked to form the colony, with three ships; the other twelve were to take in loads of the ore and to come back at once. The first English vision of a private *El Dorado* for the nation's peculiar benefit placed it to the north of Labrador.

On June 20th, 1578, Frobisher sighted the high and craggy land of Friesland, covered with snow and "foggy mists," and after great difficulty in entering "his own straits," came at last to the "wished port" in the Countess of Warwick's¹ Sound. Fogs and icebergs had been very dangerous, however; and the weather continued so rough, and the "distemperature of the country so plainly declared," that in spite of the discovery of a new sound, running into Frobisher's Straits, the North-West passage again proved insoluble. The supposed gold of the islands (to the north of the straits now called Hudson's), turned to bitter disappointment on the final return home; and the belief in this Esquimaux treasure-house grew dim—a significant silence is still preserved by all accounts about the use made of the cargo, which at starting had almost superseded the passage itself in men's minds, as the main object of the voyage; finally, the

¹ Dudley, Earl of Warwick, had been one of his most liberal patrons.

natives turned to their old treacherous tricks. The plan of the colony was given up,¹ and Frobisher, after building a little house in the Countess of Warwick's island, and "garnishing it with trifles, to allure the people to some familiarity, against other



MAP BY MICHAEL LOK.

(Hakluyt, "*Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America*," 1589.)

years," sailed for England on August 3rd, still firmly persuaded that his scheme was feasible.

¹ Yet Captain Fenton and other gentlemen had formed a plan of staying behind and wintering. They were prevented by the sinking of the bark *Dionyse*, and the absence of the *Thomas of Ipswich*, with their stores.

In the early part of the voyage the admiral had hoped that the passage lay through the present Hudson's Straits; and if he had followed his inclinations, he would, at any rate, have discovered the greatest of American bays, the largest inland sea of the New World. But to his duty as a trader he sacrificed his hopes as a discoverer.

Voyage
of the
"Golden
Hind."

We have not space here to do more than notice the sensible suggestions for colonisation given by Richard Hakluyt to gentlemen who went with Frobisher, or the memorials of the Brazil trade which form a transition from the extreme North to the extreme South, from Frobisher's failure in the North-West passage, to Drake's success in the South-West. The greatest and most famous of Elizabethan voyages is certainly that of the *Pelican* or *Golden Hind* "into the South Sea, and thence about the whole globe of the earth," between 1577 and 1580. It was the first English encircling of the world; it brought home more treasure than any other single venture of the time; it was supposed to have explored the Northern Pacific and the Californian coast beyond the furthest of any other nation. The moral effect of Drake's achievement upon the nation was in its way only second to that of the victory over the Most Famous and Invincible Armada of 1588.

Leaving Plymouth on December 13th, 1577, with five ships and one hundred and sixty-four gentlemen and sailors, the admiral, "giving out his pretended voyage for Alexandria" first hung about the African coast till he reached Cape Verde, then struck across the ocean—fifty-four days without sight of land—to Brazil, and sighted the Western Continent on April 5th, 1578. Disappointed of finding a good harbour "within the river of Plate," but noticing on the coast footmarks of people of great stature," the squadron coasted southward to Port St. Julian, in Patagonia, where was still standing a grim relic of earlier explorers, "the gibbet which we supposed to be where Magellan did execution upon his rebellious company." By a curious fatality Drake did not leave this gloomy spot without adding another tragedy: Thomas Doughty was here executed for "actions tending to mutiny," and the crews were sworn afresh to obedience and unity, every one receiving the Sacrament upon it.

On August 20th, 1578, the fleet entered Magellan's Straits,

and after slowly threading their way through its cold and desolate windings, passed through on September 6th into the great South Sea, that wonderful Pacific which had first revealed the difference between America and India, the true bulk of the earth, and the proportion and distribution of the Ocean tracts by the side of the terra firma of the world.

Driven south of the straits by storms into latitude 55° ,¹ Drake soon recovered himself, and, running rapidly north, found to his surprise that Peru, instead of lying "as the general maps have described" north-west (of the Straits of Magellan), trended to east-north-east, "whereby it appeareth that this part hath not been duly reported by twelve degrees at least."

Off the coast of Chili the English took up an Indian in a canoe, who, taking them for Spaniards, told them of the whereabouts of one of the great Peruvian treasure-ships, and piloted them to Valparaiso, where they seized a huge booty. Thence Drake coasted on to Lima, which he found (February 13th, 1579) "most secure, having never been assaulted by enemies," and in rifling the ships in the port [Callao], the

buccaneer chief got what was worth more than the plunder of his twelve captive merchantmen—news of the *Cacafuego*, the great treasure-galleon, which had just started for Paita. The English hurried after her—only to find that she had gone on to Panama, "whom our general still pursued," and about three o'clock John Drake sighted her from the masthead. By six the *Golden Hind* was up with her. Three guns brought down her mizzen, and she struck with all her riches—"thirteen chests

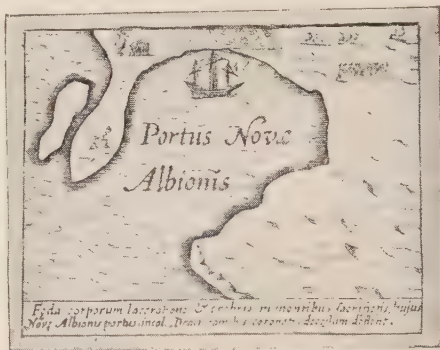


DRAKE'S ASTROLABE.

(Naval Museum, Greenwich Hospital.)
(By permission of the Lords Commissioners
of the Admiralty.)

¹ Where they saw an eclipse of the moon (September 15th), about which the English noticed, sarcastically, that it "did neither impair our state nor her clearing amend us a whit."

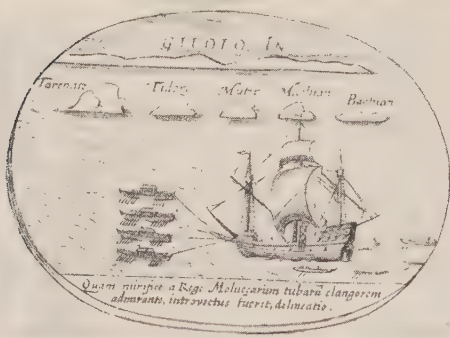
full of Royals of plate, eighty pounds weight of gold, and twenty-six tons of silver." The cargo was carefully transferred, and then the English admiral "cast off this *Cacafuego*," and putting into shore, lightened several passing ships of a good deal of their inconvenient wealth; then, thinking "Her Majesty would rest contented with this service," he began to think of return—not by Magellan's Straits, for fear both of Spanish reprisals and stormy weather, but by the Moluccas and the Cape of Good Hope.



THE GOLDEN HIND AT NEW ALBION.

(From a contemporary chart.)

But to get to the Moluccas, Drake conceived that he must take a "Spanish course" by the far North, across the Pacific. Accordingly from the 16th of April to the 3rd of June he kept on till he was "in 42° towards the Arctic Pole," and his men,



THE GOLDEN HIND IN THE MOLUCCAS.

(From a contemporary chart.)

"grievously pinched with the cold, complained of the extremity thereof." Finding the land "covered with snow," he dropped down into 38°, "in which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay." The people of the country showed themselves, and

being "courteously entreated" by the English, who "bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakedness, supposed them to be gods, and would not be persuaded to the contrary"

—a curious case of invincible ignorance. They went so far in this that their king resigned his crown and kingdom into Drake's hands—"which thing he thought not meet to reject,"



THE *GOLDEN HIND* AT JAVA.

(From a contemporary chart.)

and so received "to the use of Her Majesty."

The country—the California of our maps—he called New Albion, and at his departure set up a monument of his visit and overlordship, being convinced the Spaniards had never been there, “neither did ever discover by many degrees to the Southwards.”

From this point the

Golden Hind struck across the open sea till October 13th, 1579—"which day we fell with certain islands," in 88 N.—and so threading her way among the islands of the West Pacific, reached the Moluccas on November 14th. Here, like the

Californian king, the Prince of Ternate offered, or was supposed to offer, himself and his kingdom to the service of the Queen of England. The Indian chief came in person to see Drake, with a barbaric pomp that greatly impressed the strangers, and the visit was returned by English envoys



THE *GOLDEN HIND* ASHORE.

(From a contemporary chart.)

sent by the Admiral, who were emboldened to hope for great things in the future for national enterprise with such allies in the East Indies — “enemies to the Portugals,

sovereigns over seventy islands, and chief of all the Moluccas."

Between Ternate and Java, while steering his way among the dangerous shoals and reefs of the Archipelago, Drake ran upon a rock (January 9th, 1580), but got off again after eight hours of terrible suspense, the wind changing from starboard to larboard, "as it were, in a moment, by the special grace of God." In Java the Greater he was well received, but learning that not far off there were "such great ships as ours," resolved to hasten forward to the Cape "of the Portugals," "of Tempests," or "of Good Hope," which was the first land sighted after leaving "India." Even here Drake would not land, but only noted "the report most false that it is the most dangerous Cape of the World," though in truth it was "a most stately thing, the fairest we saw in the whole circumference of the earth."

On the 3rd November he was again in England: the first English, the third European, captain who had

" — circled ocean's plain profound,
And girdled earth in one continuous round."

The *Golden Hind* became, like Nelson's *Victory* afterwards, a sacred and historic vessel, preserved at Deptford for the wondering admiration of sightseers. Drake himself was knighted, and became the undisputed leader of English navigators, explorers, and dare-devils in the deepening struggle with Spain and the Catholic Reaction. For by his voyage he had claimed an absolutely world-wide expansion for his people. He had asserted, as well as one man and one fleet could assert, the empire of the seas for England, or at least her right to struggle for such empire—the right of great and unique success. He had thrown down the gauge to Magellan's Southerners. For his island, for the Teutonic North, for the men who were struggling against Spain and against Rome, he had been the first.

" — to open up those wastes of tide
No generation opened before."

The spirit Drake had roused, and the impulse he had given, is to be seen in the next voyage, reported by Hakluyt, of Edward Fenton and Luke Ward in 1582, and in a number of subsequent attempts to reach the Indies, not by the Northern, but by the

Southern routes, as well as in the new schemes for definite colonisation in the New World.

The first signs of this last development may be traced back to 1578, and to the patent granted for six years to Sir Humphrey Gilbert for the "planting of our people in America"; but no serious result followed upon these till 1583, when Gilbert himself sailed with five ships and 260 men (June 11th).¹

Coloni-
sation
Begins.

Here we enter upon the second period of English intercourse with the New World—the age of settlement and conquest, following that of discovering voyages and pirate raids. The disastrous result of this first venture ought not to blind us to its significance as the first step towards the possession of North America by the English race.

On the 3rd August the fleet anchored off the coast of Newfoundland, and after taking possession for Queen Elizabeth (August 5th, 1583), sailed forward to Cape Breton "on a fair evening, yet not without token of storm."

On the 29th the tempest broke on them, with dense fog; the flagship ran aground, and perished: and so frightful was the outlook that even Gilbert was prepared to have compassion on his men and to turn back to England.

The wind was "large" for home, but high and rough, so that Gilbert's frigate, the *Squirrel*, of ten tons, was almost swallowed up; but he would not change into his "great ship," the *Golden Hind*, of forty tons—this would be to forsake his little company, with whom he had passed through so many perils. And so came the end, with its most pathetic picture; of all the Elizabethan sagas, there is none with the peculiar charm of Gilbert's death.

North of the Azores he met with terrible seas, breaking short and high, "pyramid wise; men which all their life had occupied the sea never saw more outrageous" billows; and on the 9th September, in the afternoon, the frigate was "near cast away; yet at that time recovered." Joyful signals were exchanged, and the "General, sitting abaft with a book in his

¹ "Every requisite was on board, even music in good variety, for solace of our people, and allurement of the savages, not omitting the least toys, as Morris-dancers, hobby-horses, and May-like conceits to delight the savage people: and to that end we were indifferently furnished of haberdashery wares to barter with those simple people."

hand, cried out to us in the *Hind*: ‘We are as near Heaven by sea as by land’; but the same Monday night, about twelve, the frigate being ahead of us in the *Golden Hind*, suddenly her lights were out, and in that moment she was swallowed up.” The “great ship” of forty tons reached Plymouth alone on September 22nd, 1583.¹

Virginia

But the ill-fated expedition had been the outcome of a really national interest in “Western planting.” The loss of Gilbert hardly checked this at all; Raleigh stepped into his place; and the voyage of 1584 to Virginia made at his “charge and direction,” led to the first English exploration and possession of this part. Next year Sir Richard Grenville, at the head of a fleet largely equipped by Raleigh, founded the first English settlement in the New World—the “new fort in Virginia”—in the “goodliest soil under the cope of Heaven,” of which Ralph Lane was put in charge. Although this was not a permanent colony, yet its importance is scarcely less than that of the successful venture of 1608. The later years of Elizabeth saw the exploring and colonising movement setting more and more steadily westward, till the decisive victory of 1588 secured England’s foothold upon the high seas as it had never been secured before.

With the failure of Spain to crush her Northern enemies—English and Hollanders—practically ended the attempts of the same Power to shut up the new-discovered seas and lands from all other nations. Thomas Cavendish, by successfully repeating Drake’s achievement, proved that a “venture around the whole globe of the earth” was open to any resolute English captain even without the exceptional genius and fortune of Sir Francis, and the enterprises of the Virginia colony, of the “trial of Guiana,” and of the North-West Passage showed how universal was the interest taken in the new movements, even by the highest classes of English society. The ambition of the buccaneers and sea-dogs, of the merchants and factors of earlier times, had now reached upward to the most stationary and least impulsive part of the nation.

¹ Cf. “The relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth”; Sir George Knight’s true report of the late discoveries from Edward Hayes’ account; Thomas Aldworth’s letter to Walsingham (March 27th, 1583) concerning a Western voyage; Carlile’s brief and summary discourse of April, 1583, upon the intended voyage in the same direction, and the letters patent granted to Walter Raleigh similar to those given to Gilbert.

Out of the immense number of accounts which illustrate the expansion of England in these last years of the sixteenth century we have only space to notice some four or five, which represent the main lines of the national Outgoing.

1. The first of these is the voyage of Cavendish, the only suc-



CAVENDISH AND HIS ROUTE.

(From a Contemporary Chart.)

cessful follower of Drake, up to 1603, on the path of his greatest exploit. Thomas Candish, as Hakluyt calls him, started on July 21st, 1586, upon his "admirable and prosperous journey into the South Sea, and thence round about the whole earth," and returned on September 9th, 1588, just after the "overthrowing of the Spanish fleet;" but this, the second English circumnavi-

Voyage of
Cavendish.

gation, was, for the most part, a less eventful repetition of the first. One of its chief novelties was the discovery of King Philip's City, which had been built to command the Straits of Magellan, but the life of which, by Cavendish's account, had been one ghastly story of misery and mutiny during its two years of struggle against the soil and climate of Patagonia.

Coasting along Chili the admiral captured some prisoners; "one Fleming and three Spaniards" he "tortured for news," especially of the treasure galleons; then, guided by their directions, after storming and sacking Paita, he found and took his prize the *Great St. Anne*, off Cape Lucar, in California, "between 7 and 8 in the morning." She yielded 122,000 pezos of gold, and with this Cavendish set off for home "about three in the afternoon" (November 19th, 1587) by the way that Drake had first opened to his countrymen—the "course of the Portugals," through the East Indies and around Africa. On January 3rd, 1588, he "had sight" of the Ladrones, and passing on to the Philippines, the new-comers noticed with wonder the meeting of trade at Manilla from South America on one side and from China on the other, the elaborate tattooing of the chiefs, and the pleasantly familiar intercourse of the natives with the devil, "whom they wholly worship."

After hanging the Spanish pilot for his intended treachery, and making some of the islanders pay him tribute, Cavendish "sent commendations" to the Spaniards of Manilla, "willing them to provide good store of gold, for he meant to visit them again within four years," and so left them to their own reflections. Passing between the Greater and Lesser Java (Java and Sumatra) on March 1st, the English heard from some Portuguese they met on this coast that Philip of Spain, in spite of his conquest of the home kingdom, might not be recognised by the successors of Albuquerque in the East Indies, another opening for our interference and possible empire. Like Drake, Cavendish made a straight course from Java for the South of Africa, and from March 16th to May 16th was traversing that "mighty and vast sea"; on the 8th June he landed in the "marvellous fair and pleasant valleys" of St. Helena, so long used for the "refreshing of the Portugals," on their way to India; on September 3rd, soon after passing the Azores, he heard from a Flemish hulk the

news of the Armada, "to the singular comfort of us all," and on the 9th of the same month he was safe again in Plymouth harbour.

2. As Cavendish's voyage represents the mid-ocean enterprise of our explorers, traders, and warriors in the latter years of Elizabeth, so Davis's attempts to follow Frobisher in 1585, 1586, and 1587 represent the continued struggle for the North-West passage, which English enterprise was not yet prepared to give up; in connection with which the earliest American colonies were planned and supported, at least from some quarters; and which no failures seemed able to stop.¹

Davis's
Arctic
Voyages.

On the 7th June, 1585, he started from Dartmouth with the *Sunshine* and *Moonshine*, of fifty and thirty-five tons respectively; on the 19th July he heard the rolling of the drift ice through the fog; on the 20th he sighted land—"the most deformed, rocky, and mountainous that ever we saw." The first glimpse of it "showed, as it had been in form of a sugar-loaf," the snow mountains appearing over the fog and clouds, "like a white list in the sky"; the shore was beset with ice, "making such irksome noise that it seemed to be the true pattern of desolation, and so our captain named it 'the Land of Desolation.'"

Coasting along this uninviting country, they had drift-wood floating by every day, in the "black and thick water, like to a filthy standing pool," and soon Davis came in sight of the people of the country, who were no friendlier to him than they had been to Frobisher, though his men for some time trafficked with them busily enough.

On the 31st July the ships started again to follow up the North-West track, and on the 6th August discovered land "altogether void of the pester of ice," and anchored in a "fair road, under a brave mount, with a sound compassing the mount and a foreland," which they named Cape Walsingham, Exeter Sound, Mount Raleigh, and Totnes Road. On the 11th August Davis came to the most southerly cape of the island, and in spite of foggy weather his hopes of the passage rose high; but on the 24th the signs of approaching storms warned him

¹ John Davis, like Frobisher, was the agent of an important syndicate—consisting of "certain honourable personages, gentlemen of the court and country, with divers merchants of *London* and the *West Country*."

to turn back, and he repassed the Land of Desolation on the 10th September, reappearing in Dartmouth on the 30th.

With perverse ingenuity, comfort was extracted out of the most adverse facts; the "way by the North-West" was declared to be practically opened, and Davis set out again in 1586 (May 7th) with four ships, in the greatest show of confidence that could be. Sighting land on June 15th and 29th, where he had touched the year before, he struggled through



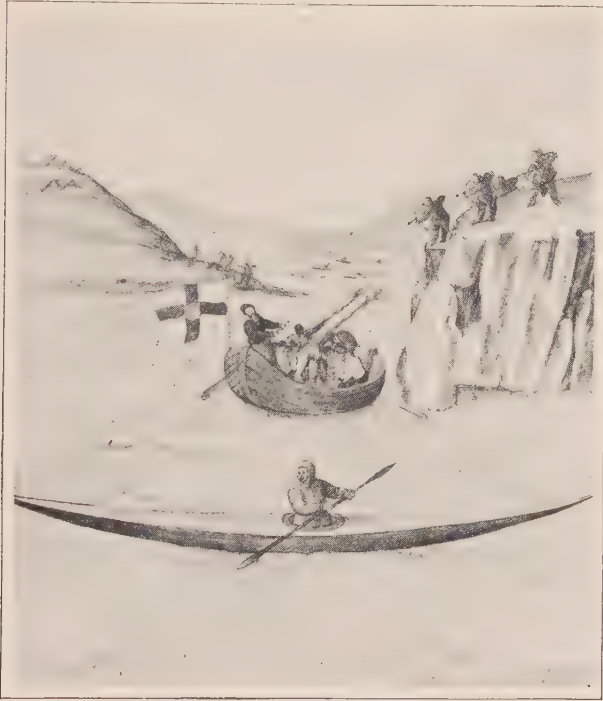
ESQUIMAUX WOMAN AND MAN.

(Contemporary drawing by John White.)

enormous masses of broken ice, and in face of "very stickle and strong currents," till, on July 24th, finding all the shrouds, ropes, and sails frozen, and the seas, which last year were navigable, "now encompassed with ice and gross fog," all "hope was banished of proceeding." The Esquimaux, too, were now found to be enchanters—"though to small purpose, thanks be to God"—and what was even worse, "marvellous thievish."¹

¹ At first Davis declared this only "ministered occasion of laughter" to him, and he ordered his men to treat them gently, "supposing it to be hard in so short time to make them know their evils"; but afterwards he got as angry as his men. From the first, he let the Esquimaux know plainly that

Altering, therefore, his course to East-South-East, the admiral was able by the 2nd of August to harbour his ships in 66° ; and thence to keep a North-West course for 50 leagues, with great hope of a "through passage" by Davis Straits. Till the 28th he continued coasting from 67° to 57° , and noticed that the country was well stocked with birds and



ESQUIMAUX ATTACKING EXPLORERS.

(Contemporary drawing by John White.)

woodland; on the 4th of September, "among great store of isles," he had a "perfect hope of the passage, finding a mighty sea passing between two lands west."

But the wind stood obstinately against further progress; the brutish people of the country attacked the sailors; and

he "did condemn their sorcery," which, at any rate, would clear their minds. The worst thing about them was their way of "practising their devilish nature" with slings and stones.

on the 6th of September "it pleased God further to increase our sorrows with a mighty storm." It was only His "as mighty mercy" that "gave succour," said the English captain, and with tempests blowing right in his teeth, he had nothing left but to shape his course for England (September 11th).

"I have now brought the passage," he reported at home with a proud and pathetic hoping against hope, "to that certainty as that I am sure it must be in one of four places, or not at all."¹

Davis's third and last attempt was in 1587. On the 19th of May he sailed from Dartmouth with "two boats and a clincher," which proved at sea like a "cart drawn with oxen." Sighting land, of the "Desolation" type, at five in the morning of June 14th, the English soon fell in with the natives, who were not long in getting to their old tricks, stripping the iron off the pinnacle, hurling stones, and afterwards trying to barter, offering "birds for bracelets," and showing pieces of "unicorn's horn" (narwhal?). On the 30th of June, Davis was off the "land called London coast," in 72°, with the sea all open to the West and North. Naming the furthest point of this Hope Sanderson,² the admiral pressed on till he fell in with a "mighty bank of ice to the westward" (on the 2nd of July), and found the wind would not let him "double out to the North."

On the 19th he "had sight" of his old friend Mount Raleigh, and by the same evening was "athwart of the straits discovered the first year"; but with stormy weather and "frisking gales" at the North-West preventing any further progress, he was at last forced to turn back (on August 15th), naming the fresh-discovered places after his friends.³ He noticed "forcible currents westward" in 61°, and still believed as implicitly as ever that only accident prevented his full success⁴

¹ On the outwardcourse (second voyage) Davis had divided his fleet, sending two ships to seek the passage between Greenland and Iceland up to the latitude of 80° if possible. These vessels performed the first part of their task, and then fell to desperate fighting with the Esquimaux.

² After one of the chief merchant patrons of these ventures.

³ Earl of Cumberland's Isles, Lumley's Inlet, Warwick's Foreland, Chidlie's Cape, Darcie's Island.

⁴ Thus he found hope in Lumley's Inlet, etc., in the "great ruts of the water, whirling and overfalling, as it were the fall of some great water through a bridge"—proving, he thought, an open sea beyond.

—"having been in 73° , and finding the sea all open, and 40 leagues between land and land."

3. By the side of an Arctic failure we have also to remember two others in tropical or semi-tropical quarters of the world. The Virginia Colony and the "trial of Guiana" did not come to any permanent success under Elizabeth. And yet those ventures did as much for England at this time as any single enterprise. For then, as at other times—in exploration, as elsewhere—it was largely by means of the failures

Settle-
ments in
Virginia.



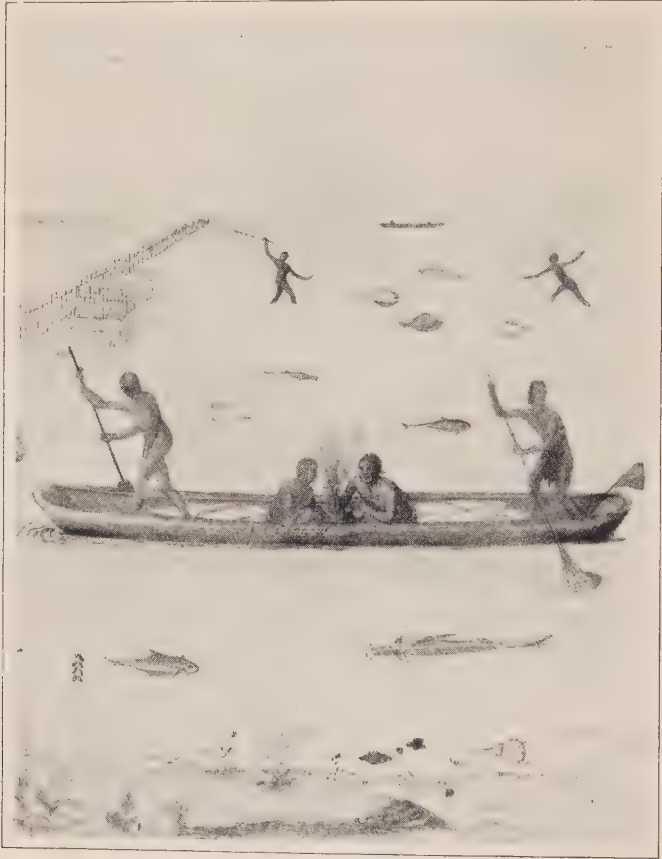
INDIAN VILLAGE OF POMEIOC

Contemporary drawing by John White.)

that the great successes were won, that the men of England were trained to hold their own in every country and on every sea.

We have seen (p. 684) how in 1585 a settlement had been made in Virginia, and Ralph Lane and Hariot left in charge. Here they soon made one of the most fruitful of English discoveries—that in this continent, of unknown greatness, there was a natural wealth such that "no realm in Christendom were comparable to it," and that "what commodities soever Spain France, Italy, or the East parts do yield to us, these parts do

abound with them all." The settlement was at first in Roanoke Island; but a site of such goodness was found on the mainland, that Lane¹ thought of moving there. Unhappily, the savages began to plot against the colonists, who thus soon



INDIANS SPEARING FISH.

(Contemporary drawing by John White.)

came "to their dogs' porridge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befel them which did." Lane had to out-

¹ Lane and Hariot were the two keenest observers of the colony. Hariot combined something of the missionary, the botanist, and the farmer, with the foresight and breadth of a statesman's view.



Aged Indian in winter garment.



Indian in festive attire.



Indian religious man.



Wife of an Herowan of Pomeioc

INDIANS OF VIRGINIA.

(Contemporary drawings by John White.)

match the savages at their own treacherous weapons—"our watchword was Christ our Victory"—and the relief was universal when (June 1st, 1586) twenty-three ships under Francis Drake were sighted off the coast. He was on his way back from the West Indies, and came to supply the colony's necessities. But a storm prevented his revictualling ship from entering the harbour; and the colonists, who had at first only thought of sending home the weak and unfit, became eager to escape in a body. Drake agreed to take them home, but in embarking "most of all they had, with their cards, books, and writings," was cast overboard. And so ended the first English Colony in Virginia.¹

But immediately after their "departing out of this paradise of the world," a third expedition, equipped by Raleigh, arrived there, spent some time in vainly searching for Lane's settlers, and returned; and a fortnight later Grenville himself, as Governor of Virginia, brought the long-promised succour. Finding the colony gone, yet unwilling to lose the possession of the country, he left behind fifteen men in Roanoke, with provisions for two years, "to retain it."

The next step was also due to Raleigh. In 1587 he sent over John White and one hundred and fifty men, giving them a charter of incorporation as founders of the City of Raleigh in Virginia. Starting on the 8th of May, they were off the American coast on the 22nd of July; and White landed at Roanoke, only to find Lane's old fort razed, the houses overgrown with melons, on which deer were feeding. Hostilities soon began with the savages, who murdered an Englishman they found straying, and beat his head in pieces with their wooden swords; but on the 18th of August a child (Virginia Dare) was born in the settlement, who was named "Virginia, as being the first Christian born there." Soon after this White, the Governor, after "extreme entreating," consented to return home for fresh supplies—some ninety men, seventeen women, and eleven children "remaining to inhabit."

¹ The failure of the colony is imputed by Hariot to the "nice bringing-up" of some colonists. [The part of "Virginia" in which these early settlements were made was included in Carolina by Charles II.'s grants of 1663 and 1665.]

The last of these Virginian expeditions under Elizabeth is that of 1590. Starting on the 20th March of that year, on his fifth American voyage, White landed in Roanoke on the 16th August, near where the colony had been left in 1587. But finding nothing—"no man nor sign"—he searched high and low till he came upon the message, carved on tree trunks, that the settlers had moved away. White wished to stay and help the fugitives, if he could; but the rest of the company, terrified by the weather and the dangers of the coast, forced him to make for England.

The remarkable voyage of Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602, which resulted in the discovery of Cape Cod and Buzzard's Bay (Gosnold's Hope), and the erection of a fort and storehouse on Cuttyhunk, was the venture of a man of genius, who revived the old direct route of the Cabots to the nearest shores of North America, and who unsuccessfully tried to found our first New England colony. It was not of a piece with the Virginia enterprises it was, and was meant to be, an improvement upon them.

4. The "discovery of Guiana" was the last, the most mistaken, and the most fruitless of the great enterprises of Elizabethan explorers and colonisers. Raleigh, like many others, had been deeply bitten with the delusive hope of finding that richer Peru called Guiana, El Dorado, or the empire of Manoa, which adventurers of the time declared they had discovered, and which one tradition traced back to the invasion of the Pizarros, and a migration of the Inca's subjects from the Pacific towards the Atlantic coasts of South America. Captain Whiddon had been sent out in 1594 to reconnoitre the approach to Guiana; and on Thursday, the 7th of February, 1595, Raleigh himself started with the main force, supposed "to be bound only for the relief" of the English in Virginia. Arrived off Trinidad, he first explored the entrances to the great waterways which he hoped would lead him into the heart of Manoa; but the pilots proved incompetent,—“if God had not sent us another help, we might have wandered a whole year in that labyrinth of rivers,”—and after pushing 400 miles into the country, describing all he saw in a "Chart of Discovery," and marvelling at the tropical beauty of the riverside—the grass, the trees, the birds, the deer, all so splendid

The
Search
for El
Dorado.

that it was a "good passing of the time" only to see them—Raleigh's "heart grew cold to behold the great rage and increase of the Orinoco," and he gave over the enterprise for the time, but without losing his hope. Like the adventurers in the North-West, failure only seemed to make his certainty of ultimate success more sure. He was convinced that the "sun covered not more riches in any part of the earth." He had yet to learn that his pleasant prospects were not bound to be anywhere out of fairyland because "every child affirms the same." El Dorado remained inaccessible in spite of the repeated attempts of Raleigh and Keymis in 1596-97; because, like the ideal city of philosophers, it was not to be found anywhere on earth.

Minor
Explora-
tion.

These four illustrations of English exploring and colonising energy at the end of the sixteenth century must end this short account of Elizabethan enterprise: of the voyages¹ to Cape Breton and the St. Lawrence, to Brazil and the "River of Plate," to the West Indies, to Newfoundland, the Cape Verde Islands, and other outlying parts of the ocean that English seamen had now made their home; of the various attempts to reach the South Sea, or Pacific, which got no

¹ Cf. (1) Of voyages to the St. Lawrence, etc.: John James to Burleigh, Sept. 14th, 1591, on the discovery of Ramea (the Magdalen Islands), from St. Malo; the voyages of M. Hill, of Redrife, to Cape Breton with the *Marigold* in 1593; of George Drake, of Apsham, to Ramea in 1593; of Rice-Jones in the *Grace*, of Bristol, to the St. Lawrence in 1594; of Charles Leigh to Cape Breton and Ramea in 1597. (2) Of voyages to South America: James Lancaster's journey to Brazil in 1594; Thomas Cavendish's last voyage, in 1591-93, to Magellan's Straits; the Earl of Cumberland's expedition in 1586, "intended for the South Sea, but performed but little further than the River of Plate"; and the same earl's attempt in 1594, which stopped short at the Azores. (3) Of voyages to the West Indies: those of Sir Robert Dudley in 1594-95; of Sir Amyas Preston in 1595; of Sir Anthony Sherley in 1596-97; and the last one of the great sea kings, Drake and Hawkins, in 1595. (4) Of other voyages: Those of Richard Rainolds and Thomas Daniel in 1591; of Sir John Burrough in 1592; and of the *Tobie* in 1593, which all stopped at or came to grief upon the west coast of Africa. Among these enterprises, Preston's "entered Jamaica" in 1595; Lancaster's, in 1594, was of purely military interest, but shows the aggressive Protestantism of English sailors in the bitterest manner; Dudley's, in 1594, is remarkable for its ships' names—the *Bear*, the *Frisking*, and the *Earwig*, like the *Why Not I*, of Cumberland's fleet, in 1594; and the wreck of the *Tobie* near Cape Sprat in 1593, with the dying men singing their metrical psalms ("Help, Lord, for good and godly men"), reads like a chapter of Cromwellian Puritanism.

1603]

further than Magellan's Straits, or some point on the coast of South America; of disastrous failures, such as those of the Earl of Cumberland and of Cavendish on his last voyage, it may be enough to say that they are simply passed by as being less representative of the main lines of national expansion at this time. Though interesting in themselves, they only add detail, for the most part, to the various sides of a movement which has already been sketched in outline; they are subordinate examples of the development of the spirit which is still better shown in those leading and typical achievements of a great epoch which we have tried to follow; and they can all be read at length in Hakluyt, "the prose epic of the modern English nation, our unrivalled treasure of material for the history of geography, discovery, and colonisation, our best collection of the exploits of the heroes in whom the new era was revealed."¹

THE period here dealt with is signalised in science by the publication of Gilbert's famous treatise on the Magnet (1600). William Gilbert, of Colchester (1540-1603), was physician to Queen Elizabeth, and, even apart from his magnetic researches, was remarkable for his general scientific spirit. He was, for example, one of those who accepted the Copernican astronomy. Here he showed more insight than his younger contemporary, Bacon (1561-1626)—who, indeed, was not usually fortunate in his judgments on the ideas that were to become important in special science. Bacon, though he recognises the value of Gilbert's work, in one place speaks rather slightly of his theories—classing him with those who would make a philosophy of Nature out of some particular group of natural facts. Thus Gilbert, according to Bacon, would interpret everything as a sort of magnetism.² Galileo was able to appreciate his merits as a thinker more accurately. Gilbert's general observations,

THOMAS
WHIT-
TAKER.
Natural
Science;
Gilbert.

¹ The spirit of the new enterprise was never better expressed than by Duddley's confession: "Having ever since I could conceive of anything been delighted with the discoveries of navigation, I fostered in myself that disposition till I was of more years and better ability to undertake such a matter."

² Rousseau has a similar remark on an acquaintance who seems to have had geological ideas. His notion, Rousseau says, was that the whole earth was a sort of "coquillage."

as to the mode in which truth of Nature is to be discovered, are very much in the spirit of Bacon's own.

His principal treatise—"On the Magnet and Magnetic Bodies and the Great Magnet the Earth"—is admitted by modern authorities to contain descriptions of all the fundamental phenomena of the science: so that it is classical to this day. He had collected and verified the observations of



WILLIAM GILBERT.

(After a portrait by Harding.)

the ancients and those that had come to light since the introduction of the compass, and had added others. He also theorised scientifically on his observations. As the title of the book indicates, he saw that the earth itself may be regarded as a magnet; explaining, from its magnetic character, the phenomena of the needle. The starting-point for a theory of the kind had been given by the discovery of the polarity of the

magnet. This was a modern discovery—the phenomenon of magnetic polarity having been unknown to the ancients; for although Lucretius had observed that the loadstone occasionally repels as well as attracts, he does not seem to have been aware of the constant conjunction of repulsion and attraction in which polarity consists. Gilbert, by his systematic study of magnetic phenomena, at once experimental and theoretical, definitely constituted a new science. In the theory of the science, the doctrine that the earth is a “great magnet” is still fundamental.

The.iiij. Chapter
Meane.

A certayne man, who was named
Ananias trulpe: woth ha:
phira his wyfe framed, Unto
the Lorde a lye, who selling
then a pece of lande, Grypt backe
parte of the ppyt: Tho which his

The.iiij. Chapter.

his wyfe dud in der hande, & hey
wought with one ad lye.
Countertenor.
A certayne man who was named
A na ni as trulpe: woth ha:
phira his wyfe framed, Unto
the Lorde a lye, who selling
D. b. then

TWO PAGES OF DR. TYE'S "ACTES OF THE APOSTLES."

THE advance in Music, which we have recorded, during the earlier years of the Tudor period, continued, without interruption, until medieval counterpoint was superseded by the dawn of modern Art.

In the *Sixth English School*, contemporary with the “golden age” of Italian art, contrapuntal music reached the highest level it was destined to attain north of the Channel.

Its founder was Dr. Christopher Tye (d. 1563), and its brightest ornaments were Thomas Tallys, William Byrd, Robert Whyte, John Ball, Richard Farrant, Orlando Gibbons, and the

W. S.
ROCKSTRO.
Music.

great madrigalists, Thomas Morley, John Douland, Thomas Weelkes, John Wilbye, John Benet, John Ward, Michael Este, John Hilton, Thomas Forde, William Cobbold, Thomas Bateson, George Kirbye, and a host of others, scarcely less famous, whose works seem as fresh to-day as they must have seemed to their hearers at the time they were written, and will certainly be remembered in years to come when many later productions are deservedly forgotten.

Tye.

Dr. Tye's compositions are characterised by a sober dignity well worthy of the period at which he wrote. He is best known, perhaps, by the beautiful music adopted to his quaint masterpiece, entitled, "*The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englyshe Metre, with notes to eche Chapter, to synge, and also to play upon the Lute*" (London, 1553). The "Englyshe Metre" is, indeed, little better than doggerel; but the "notes" are beautiful enough to deserve an adaptation to poetry of the highest order.

Tallys.

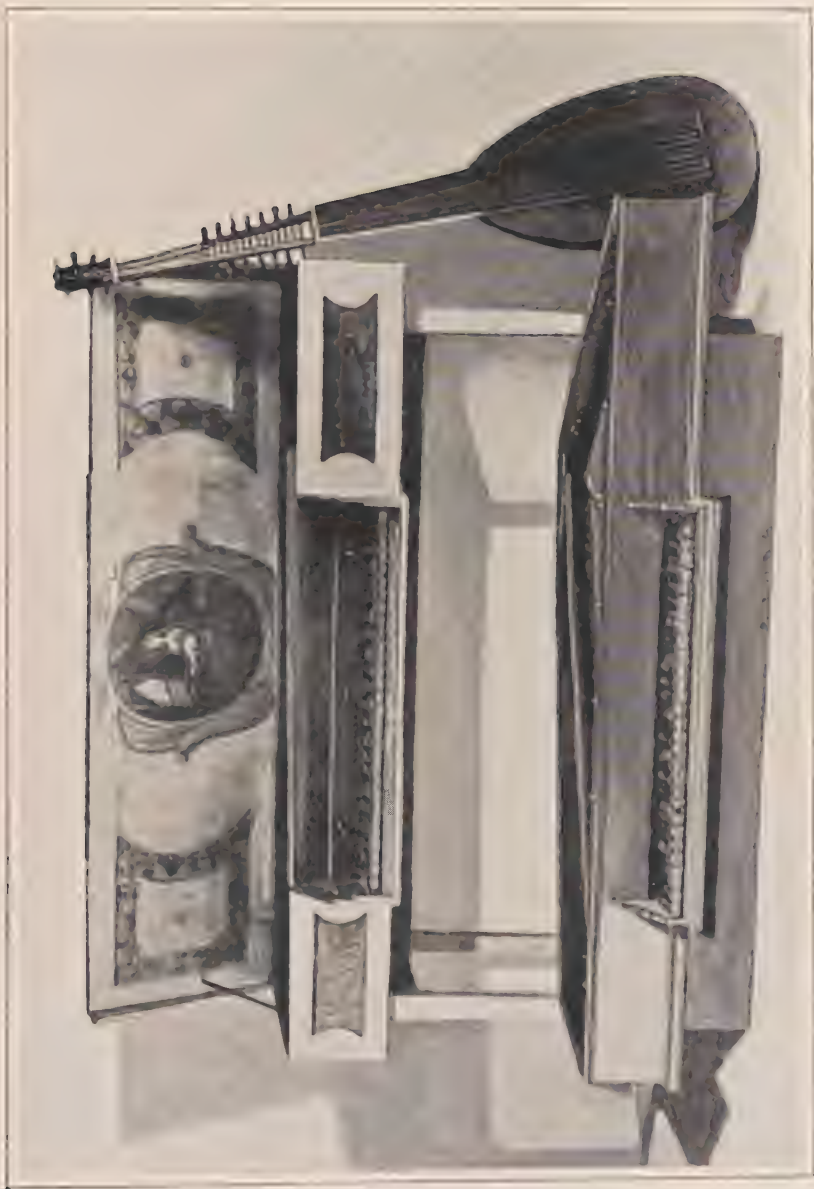
Thomas Tallys (d. 1585), best known by his matchless *Responses* and *Litany*, united the most profound learning to a taste so cultivated and refined that his compositions exceed in sweetness those of any of his colleagues, scarcely excepting even Richard Farrant or Orlando Gibbons, who, at least, are the only two who can be compared with him for graceful conception and delicacy of treatment. His anthems and hymns are equally perfect in technical form and beauty of expression, while his stupendous motet—*Spem in alium non habui*—for eight five-part choirs, in which he employs the immense body of forty independent voices with an amount of ingenuity truly marvellous, is a monument of artistic power and learning.

Byrd.

William Byrd (d. 1623), Thomas Tallys's illustrious pupil, rivalled his master in contrapuntal skill, though not in graceful expression. His compositions are very numerous, and many of his anthems rank among the finest now sung in our cathedrals; but he is best known by his canon, *Non nobis, Domine*, an ingenious little masterpiece, capable of at least seven distinct solutions, and so wonderfully effective that it is still sung at all our great public banquets as a "grace after meat."

Farrant.

The few works by Richard Farrant (d. 1585) that have been preserved are so full of expressive beauty that they more than



VIRGINAL (1550), SPINET (1552), AND LUTE.

from the collection of the Rev. F. W. Galpin, Hatfield

Gibbons.

make us mourn over the spirit of destruction which, during the course of the Great Rebellion, reduced our ecclesiastical libraries to ruin. Of the compositions of Orlando Gibbons (d. 1625), a greater number have been preserved. He was the last great Master of the School, if we except the famous madrigalists, a few of whom survived him; and with him the truest school of contrapuntal art died out in England, to be succeeded by the more modern style, which in the first half of the seventeenth century was rapidly gaining ground throughout the length and breadth of Europe.

GEORGE
SAINTS-
BURY.
Eliza-
bethan
Literature.

IN giving a rapid survey of Elizabethan literature proper—which, it cannot be too often repeated, means the literature of the last twenty years of the Queen's reign—circumscription of space, if the writer keeps his eye and the reader is willing to have his eye kept on the object, is in some respects a gain. There is nothing quite like the period in English or in any other literary history; and the fuller the treatment of it is, the more likely are the chief points of real value and interest to be obscured rather than brought out, unless there is room for an exceedingly copious handling of particulars. At the end of the eight decade of the sixteenth century—even if we include the remarkable work of which account has been given in the last chapter, and of which most appeared within some twenty or thirty months before and after the close of 1580—it would have been permissible for a by no means hasty critic to say that for the best part of two centuries England had been without a great literature, and that it was very doubtful when she would have one. *Now*, of course, we see what Tottel's "Miscellany," what the contributions of Sackville to the "Mirror for Magistrates," what the younger work of Spenser, and Sidney, and Watson, and Lyly, what even the respectable attempts of the other persons mentioned, meant. But flower no more necessarily means fruit in this variety of vegetation than it does elsewhere—perhaps, indeed, it is an even less certain index.

So, at the end of our present period, while there certainly was none, it would be rather unreasonable to expect that there should have been any critic able to point out that for half a century to come the beauties of English literature would

take no new colour, would simply be a continuation of what the past twenty years had made known. Yet this was so; and to the present day we call, and probably as long as there are persons who take an exact view of the truths as distinguished from the appearances of literature, shall call by the name of "Elizabethan" Literature the work of men, some of whom died seventy years and more after the Queen had gone where Essex and where Mary Stuart had gone before her.

Before attempting to indicate in a few broad lines the general characteristics of this central period of our Letters—this brief time in which they gathered up all their early and pristine force, and developed the germs of all their later and sometimes a little overmature variety—it is imperative to sketch the chief actual figures and products of the time.

One thing, in pursuance of what has already been said, is specially to be remarked. As we pointed out, that until the remarkable outburst of "vital signs" about 1580, the first half of Elizabeth's reign was not extraordinarily prolific in positively good literature, so we shall find that even in the last half the later years are far more prolific than the earlier. From the eighties of the century we have indeed most of the remarkable work of what is generally called the University group of playwrights, the greatest of whom is Marlowe; we have the singular, and from the literary point of view hitherto rather undervalued, "Martin Marprelate" controversy (p. 612); and we have from the same hands as the plays certainly, and probably if not certainly from the same hands also as the pamphlets, a great body of miscellaneous literature—novels, social sketches, and what not—which, though for the most part hastily and formlessly written, is full of interest and promise, and may indeed be said to contain the germs of most of the matter—including even literary criticism—which fills the modern periodical. But, on the other hand, with the exception of some of Marlowe's work, it can hardly be said that a single one of the great books by which the Elizabethan age is known to posterity dates from this decade. On the contrary, the 'nineties simply swarm with masterpieces. No doubt some of these had been written earlier; but taking actual publication as the criterion, the date of 159—stands as that of the "Faerie Queene" and all Spenser's minor poems, except the "Calendar"; of the "Poems"

Periods
of Great-
est Pro-
duction.

and the earlier certain plays of Shakespeare; of the thronging cluster of sonneteers, of whom Spenser and Shakespeare themselves are but the chief; of the earliest historical and other poems of Drayton and Daniel; of the satires of Hall, Lodge, and Marston; of the earliest plays of Jonson, Chapman, and Dekker; of Bacon's "Essays" and Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity." There may be another ten years in which it might be possible to point out an equal number of original masterpieces and masters in their respective kinds. But if there is, I confess that I at least do not know where to look for it, either in the history of English or of any other literature with which I am acquainted.

The most complete and accomplished production in either decade is, no doubt, that of Spenser, who died in 1599, who had given a taste of his quality twenty years earlier, as we have seen, but whose work in its perfect charm and flower was wholly published between 1590 and 1600. The "Shepherd's Calendar" is interesting; but it would be absurd to claim for it anything like the interest of the "Amoretti" and the "Hymns," to say nothing of the "Faerie Queene." Indeed, if the "Calendar" had remained uncompleted by any other work, it is possible that Spenser might never have attained, with good judges, even the position of a great poet cut off in his prime; he would certainly never have attained that of being a great poet in truth and in fact.

Spenser's
"Faerie
Queene."

The "Faerie Queene"—and only half of that half of it which is all that we possess, except the splendid fragment of the "Cantos of Mutability"—was registered, or, in other words, announced for publication in December, 1589. It was published a few months later. It is tempting but impossible to imagine the effect that the reading of it must have produced. We cannot put ourselves in the position of the men of that day. No intellectual gymnastic will avail to shut out the conditions which are present to our view and were absent from theirs; and though a little less difficult in appearance, it is probably not less impossible in reality, to restore the conditions which were present to their minds and have been removed from ours. In English literature itself there was absolutely no writer of the first class in verse or prose except Chaucer; and it is by no means certain that Chaucer was known to or read by a large

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proportion of the then small "reading public." There was as yet no German vernacular literature of the first class at all; and the language was very little known. French had a magnificent past and a great present, but was in the same stage of struggle and tentative with English, or in one only a little more advanced. The greatest of the Spaniards were writing, or about to write only. Italian, in those examples which it has never surpassed



EDMUND SPENSER, BY ALESSANDRO ALLORI.

(By permission of the Rev. S. Baring-Gould.)

or equalled, was indeed there, and was not neglected; but Italian itself was dominated by the notion which prevailed everywhere, and not least in England, and which might have been thought likely to interpose an insuperable, as it did in fact interpose a very serious, bar to the accomplishment of really great things in the vernacular. That notion was the idea of the unchallengeable, and therefore unchallenged, superiority of the classical tongues, and especially Latin. The Renaissance pretended to be and (though to a much smaller

extent than is usually thought) really was a revolt against the Middle Ages. But, practically, it outdid the Middle Ages themselves in the superstitious reverence which it paid to "the tongues." The attitude of Dante towards Virgil and Statius—his inferiors as poets, the one by a great, the other by an almost immeasurable degree—was little, if at all, changed till quite the end of the seventeenth century; and the very philosophers who affected to dethrone Aristotle tried to do it by having recourse to Plato, to the Stoics, to Sextus Empiricus. Bacon himself notoriously held that the vulgar tongues were mere instruments-of-all-work, unsuited for the choicer feats of literature. Spenser himself, as we know, succumbed to the mania for forcing English into classical metres; and was sharply snubbed by his chief literary mentor for devoting himself to the "Faerie Queene" at all.

Nevertheless the "Faerie Queene" came, and in it the second, if not the first, great poem in English. It is not necessary to call or think Spenser a greater poet than Chaucer in order to give the "Faerie Queene," as a great poem, the precedence over the "Canterbury Tales." In some qualities, at least, of the poet, the master had the advantage over the scholar. But in others, the scholar's greatest production has by an even greater interval the precedence over any single work of the master's. It had more unity, a deeper-ingrained and more individual colour, a subtler if less primitive charm, and, above all, it has the attraction of an individual and original and, to some fancies, at any rate, an absolutely unequalled metrical medium. Long romances in verse—especially long romances in verse with an allegorical framework—were nothing new to the age. But how far did the novel qualities of this particular romance strike it?

The Con-
temporary
Estimate.

To this question there is practically no answer. We know that Spenser founded—chiefly, but not wholly, in his own university—a vigorous school of imitators. We know that he had a great and increasing influence over the poets, his successors, from Milton downwards. But what his own age really thought of him, save for a few official and "officious" panegyrics which might be paralleled in the case of second- and tenth-rate contemporaries, we do not know. It is true that in his time there existed some curious and careful critics of English

literature. But they, too, were distracted by that odd form of "squinting"—if it may be so called—to which reference has already been made. Thus the excellent Webbe—writing, it is true, with only the "Shepherd's Calendar" before him—does indeed do himself immortal honour by calling Spenser "the rightest English poet he ever read." And then he goes on to show the value of this praise by coupling Spenser with Gabriel Harvey; by saying in another place that he is the equal of Virgil and Theocritus, "but for the coarseness of our English tongue"; and by endeavouring, in a third,¹ to translate the Calendar into English sapphics!

In such a mist were the minds even of men of the best intentions and the most unfeigned love for letters, when the "Faerie Queene" appeared. Prof. Hales,¹ it may be, is right in saying that it was "received with the utmost delight and admiration." Let us hope it was, for it certainly deserved both. Such a melodious burst had never sounded in the English tongue before. The wonderful web of imagination, woven so silently and cunningly in its pages, the splendid creations—not merely of poetic fancy but of actual character drawing and ethical construction—which it displays, the consummate skill in language and metre (the former, it may be, like the latter, a little mannered and artificial, but with such an exquisite manner, such a consummate art), the learning, the grasp, the evident reserve of sustained capacity behind—these were things which had never, or but once, been seen before among us. And these were to be seen whenever Spenser sang again, in the rest of the "Queene," in the sonnets, in the "Epithalamium," in the "Hymns," during the too brief career which was allotted him and which he filled so full.

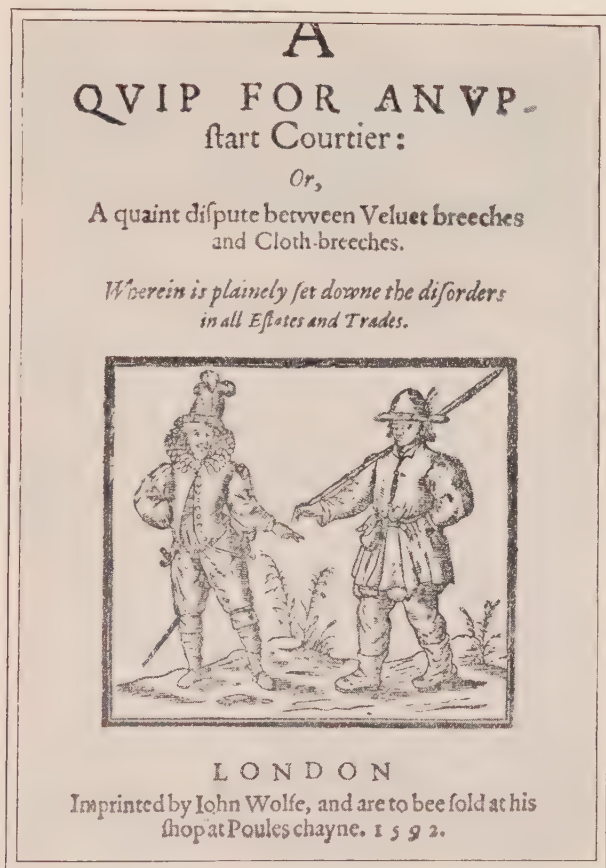
The fortunes, like the work, of the next group differ remarkably from Spenser's. Although his end was tragic, and although his life seems to have been saddened by more than one disappointment, yet had his lines been cast in places not unpleasant and in a manner distinguished. He was early introduced to the best society, and not very late to Court; he had pensions and large grants of land, and but for the Irish outbreak would, to all appearances, have finished his days as a sufficiently prosperous country gentleman. The

Marlowe
and his
Fellow-
Dramatists.

¹ Introduction to "Globe" ed., p. 42.

men who, working round Marlowe, did most to launch the English drama on the new and untried seas which were to be its proper home, were for the most part university men. Lyly (who belonged to the group in an outside kind of way, and had made his mark before any of them), Peele, and Lodge were Oxford men; Marlowe, Greene, and Nash were of Cambridge. Of Kyd's education nothing is certainly recorded, but he is much more likely to have been a university man than not. These seven, chiefly in the decade between 1580 and 1590, with a few years of the next, struck out one of the faultiest but one of the most vigorous and original kinds of drama that the world has seen. It is certain that all of them were well acquainted with the works of the tragedian Seneca; and one of them, Kyd, translated one of the chief plays of the Continental Senecans—Robert Garnier's *Cornelia*. And it has, as we noticed before, been contended that the blood-and-thunder, the ghosts and terrors, the inflated language and stilted verse in which they revelled, were due to the influence of this powerful but rather ill-conditioned dramatist of the Latin silver age. However this may be, it is certain that the general scheme of their drama not only owes little or nothing to Seneca, but is about as direct a revolt against the "regular" tragedy as can be conceived. Nor did they, as has been so often done since, go to some modern literature as a resource against, and an alternative from, the ancients. Indeed, there was none for them to go to, unless anyone chooses to exaggerate the very faint lead that the old mystery, through more recent interludes and mongrel plays of the kind referred to previously, may have given them. They simply, retaining acts, scenes, and general dramatic arrangements, gave the rein to their imaginations, threw the "unities" to the winds and cast into theatrical form the substance of chronicles and romances after a fashion of which ancient comedy may have given some slight foretaste, but ancient tragedy certainly none at all. And they did more than this. They broke up the stately stilted decasyllables of *Gorboduc*, they shortened and furbished the lolloping and lumbering fourteeners and doggerels of other plays into verse—the most majestic in Marlowe, the sweetest and softest in Peele, that English had yet known. It is not surprising that such a hurry and whirl of action and

interest recounted, occasionally at least, in verse of such unprecedented splendour and charm, should have made, or at least helped to make, the theatre the most popular of all amusements. It is true that the plays—of which Marlowe's

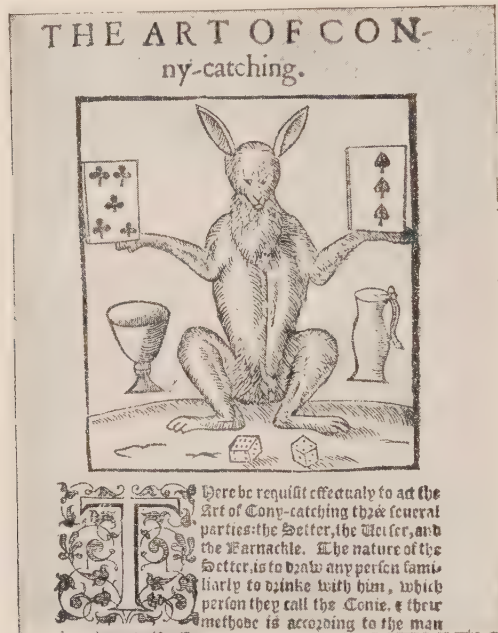


VELVET VERSUS CLOTH.

(Title-page to Greene's "Quip for an Upstart Courtier," 1592.)

Doctor Faustus, *Tamburlaine*, *Jew of Malta*, and *Edward the Second*; Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, *Old Wives' Tale*, and *David and Bethsabe*; Greene's *Friar Bacon*; Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, are the most famous—had almost every fault except tameness that a play can have. The most chaotically

improbable action, the least carefully adjusted characters, the wildest rant of dialogue, the most shocking impropriety of incident and phrase meet one at every turn. The poets cannot or will not even take the trouble to keep up their poetry. Lines of incomparable beauty, of such a combination of sonority and poetic suggestion as no modern poets, save Dante



THE PREY OF THE SHARPER.

(Greene "Notable Discovery of Coosnage," 1591.)

and Chaucer, had equalled, are jostled by mean and trumpery doggerel. Except Marlowe, and once and twice Peele, no one of them can keep even a moderately long speech at a high level, and Marlowe himself is by no means to be trusted to do it constantly.

"Bohemians."

Nothing is more treacherous than the attempt to argue backwards and forwards from a man's life to his works; but in this case there does seem to have been some connection between the irregular life and the irregular work of these men. Lyly, indeed, stands apart from the rest in this as in other

ways. Lodge, if he was for a time "Bohemian," which is probable, settled down into a sober physician; and of Kyd



TOM NASH, HIS GHOST.

(G. Harvey, "Trimming of T. Nash.")

our personal knowledge is still just not a blank. But it is pretty certain that Marlowe, Greene, Peele, and Nash, especially the first three, lived lives of the greatest irregularity, and it would appear that all these three came to what is familiarly called a bad end. There is certainly some, and may be much, exaggeration in the traditional reports of Peele's Villonesque practices. Nor will a wise man accept without hesitation the stories—compact in the oddest fashion of accusations from enemies and

confessions from the parties themselves—of the roistering, the impecuniosity, and the irreligion of Marlowe, of Greene, and in a less degree of Nash. But the testimony as to the general tenor of the life of Marlowe and Greene is too strong to be resisted. It may not have been extremely criminal but it must have been utterly, to use the word just used, "Bohemian." The habits and ways of a large town, such as London was then becoming, crowded with returned adventurers of all kinds, and most imperfectly policed, are sure to be at all times unedifying; and unless there is an unusual amount of literary exaggeration in the curious series of pamphlets (by Greene, Nash, and Dekker chiefly) which describe the humours of the



TOM NASH IN IRONS IN THE FLEET PRISON.

(G. Harvey, "Trimming of T. Nash.")

capital, and in the full and constant references to them in the lighter plays of the dramatists other than Shakespeare, Elizabeth's London must have been at least as unedifying in some of its phases as any capital, whether ancient or modern. Into this kind of life these dramatists seem to have plunged, with a mixture of individual and of professional greediness, for the necessity of "seeing life" is the immemorial excuse of the artist. It is possible that something of the whirl of spirits in which they lived may have helped the rush and recklessness of their genius. But it certainly seems to have left them no time to polish and perfect their work, and its effect upon their lives was, to say the least, not kindly. For Peele was barely forty, Greene but thirty-two, and Marlowe not thirty when they died, while Nash was certainly not a long liver. And, in the case of Greene and Marlowe at least, one or another kind of loose living directly or indirectly brought about the end.

Shakespeare.

It is a question of the first interest how far Shakespeare was in relation with these men, and what is the precise position of his work in regard to theirs. The *locus classicus* on the subject is a thousand-times-quoted passage from a pamphlet, which is either what it pretends to be—the last dying speech of Robert Greene—or something put out in his name as such. It contains, besides a lamentable description of, and apology for, the supposed writer's evil life, and an expostulation with his friends and comrades, a violent tirade against a certain "upstart crow beautified with our feathers," who thinks himself "the only Shakescene in the country." Almost every conceivable view and side—with many views and sides which to plain folk seem inconceivable—has been taken about Shakespeare and Shakespeareana; and it is, of course, possible to hold that the allusion here is not certain, that "Shakescene," despite its tempting jingle, is only a contemptuous variant upon "scene-shifter." Still, it must be admitted that the allusion is extremely plausible, and even very likely. If it is one it would date from 1592, when Shakespeare was eight-and-twenty, when he is supposed to have been for about seven years connected with the theatre in one way or another, when he was about to publish "Venus and Adonis," and when, though we do not certainly know that they were, some of his earlier plays must have been put on the boards. If the Greene passage

aspersed Shakespeare, Chettle, Greene's editor, promptly apologised for it with a handsome testimonial to the person attacked. And as it happens we have a very curious counterblast in this quarrel of University Wits *v.* "Shakescenes" in the odd series of *Parnassus* plays, which also contain very high eulogies of Shakespeare, both as poet and playwright. It is, however, fair to say that this seems to date a few years later—certainly after 1597.

We have little or no room for minutiae of this kind here. The *Parnassus* notices, however, are specially valuable, inasmuch as they show us that up to the end of the century Shakespeare, though very highly thought of, was only or chiefly known as the author of love poems and of plays like *Romeo and Juliet*, and, perhaps, some of the lighter comedies and chronicles. This is more valuable than all the endless arguments which have been used to ascertain the exact chronology of a matter impossible to fix to accurate dates. We may, therefore, quite safely assume (as indeed we might in the absence of any evidence whatsoever) that, before Shakespeare's return to Stratford, two or three years before the century closed, his poems, including some at least of the sonnets and some of the classes of plays above referred to, were his sole productions. And it is quite evident that in these latter he was, like every man of genius in the world, under obligations to his predecessors, both to the group just referred to, and to the crowd of unknown or scarcely known writers. For the mass of play-writing which these years saw and which, never having got into print or out of the actor's hands, has perished, was immense. In some cases, and these not merely chronicle-plays, Shakespeare undoubtedly "wrote up" earlier productions; and even where he did not do this he benefited by the models at his disposal. Sometimes he burlesqued them, sometimes he copied them. I daresay he sometimes "stole their thunder" to an extent sufficient to account for if not to justify, Greene's indignation.

Nobody can doubt that Shakespeare, if he had been left entirely to himself, would have elaborated a dramatic machinery equal to any production. But nobody who does not take an altogether unhistorical and inartistic view of literature can doubt that to have had before him such examples as the

His Debt
to Prede-
cessors.

versification of Marlowe and Peele, and as the dramatic scheme, not merely of these, but of a whole crowd of lesser men, was an inestimable advantage—an advantage such as falls only to the lot of the greatest men of genius, for the simple reason that only the greatest men of genius are ready and able to take advantage of it.

The
Eliza-
bethan
Drama.

And so in his hands, and in those of that wonderful group of predecessors, of contemporaries, and of successors, whose work on the whole covered some seventy years, though the best of it was done in fifty, there was evolved what we call the Elizabethan drama. Of its accessories and conditions much has been written; but very little need here be said. It is known and certain that at first the companies of players were—as was in those days almost necessary to protect them from interference—in the greater number of cases, if not all “servants” of some great man, whose protection could give them immunity, or representatives of some public institution, under whose shield their performances could be safely produced. But by degrees, and, indeed, very early, the passion of the common people for this kind of entertainment secured opportunities for its indulgence, either at those or at other hands. The form of the earliest theatre has been conjectured rather than known, with a sufficient probability, to have been given by the inn-yards of the period with their tiers of galleries (p. 774). These places happened at once to provide the most likely places of exhibition, and the most convenient arrangements for seeing. When independent theatres were built they were on the same plan, which retained its own advantages, and possessed in addition those of requiring the minimum of expense in building, of dispensing with artificial light (which could then only have been supplied at great expense and in insufficient quantity), and of allowing the entertainment to be given in the daytime at a period when hours were early, and the streets anything but safe after nightfall. In other words, the earliest theatre was a structure with the centre or pit open to the sky, and with the galleries only roofed. The stage was relatively of a good size; but it was encroached on by the habit, long prevalent in all European countries, of allowing stools to be placed on it for favoured spectators. The scenery was non-existent, replaced by sign-boards with de-

The
Theatre.

scriptions of the most rudimentary character, and most of the properties were humble. It would not, however, appear that this poverty always extended to the wardrobes of the actors, who seem to have indulged in a good deal of probably tarnished finery. That the receipts of casual performers were not large, and their life a hard one, is very likely, and that the sums paid to the regularly retained poets of the theatre were small enough we know from positive records. But that there was money to be made by those who were actor-shareholders in a company, and who did not fling away their earnings in careless debauchery, the instances of Shakespeare himself, of Alleyne, of Burbage, and others, show.

In this rough circumstance, with the occasional but, perhaps, not much more stimulating, substitution of the halls

of great men's houses, Shakespeare, in common with those others who have been and will be mentioned, launched the English drama. As is generally known, practically nothing is known of him. He was born in 1564, and died in 1616 a wealthy householder of Stratford-on-Avon. He was married, and had children; he had debts owed him, and got or endeavoured to get them in; he suffered from literary jealousies, and enjoyed literary compliments. For the rest we know—distinguishing knowledge from futile and idle gossip mostly long after date,



EDWARD ALLEYNE.
(Dulwich College.)

Shakespeare's
Life.

from baseless inference, and from the record of perfectly unimportant and to a rational mind uninteresting details—nothing at all about him. It is an almost crucial instance of the extraordinary reluctance to acquiesce in facts which is characteristic of humanity, that even this nescience, when it is admitted, has been twisted into a basket for the reception of fresh figments of the imagination to the effect that he really must have been somebody else. As a matter of fact, our general knowledge of the man of letters of the Elizabethan time is of the scantiest. Of Spenser, a man always in contact with distinguished persons, we know little; of Ben Jonson, a literary patriarch, and frequenter of younger men of letters at a time when the man of letters was both a more established and a more respectable character than in Shakespeare's time, we do not know very much. Of Chapman, Drayton, Daniel, and others, who were all gentlemen by birth, and of some standing in the world, our knowledge is shadowy to the last thinness of shadows. Of most of the other Elizabethan dramatists and poets, the dates of their matriculation and degree, when they happened to be university men, of their appointment to offices, when they chanced to be office-holders, and (by no means invariably) of their birth, marriage, and death sum up the most of our knowledge. Of even such a man as Donne, who lived to fill a post more important than many English bishoprics, and whose life was written not long after his death by a personal friend, the record is about as definite and substantial as the flickerings of firelight on the wall. How should we expect, save by the merest accident, to know much of Shakespeare, who was born in a very small town of an undistinguished family, went to no university, belonged to no recognised profession, filled no office, was only conjecturally connected with any man of importance, published nothing during his lifetime except a tiny handful of juvenile poems, and passed nearly the last two decades of a by no means long life in the town or rather the village of his nativity?

His Work.

His work, on the other hand, we have and know; and very foolish persons must they be who would exchange the worst and most dubious part of it for a Life as copious as those we possess of Byron or of Macaulay. The exact part of the work which belongs to the present chapter, and the exact

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part of that part which belongs in pure inception and entire execution to Shakespeare himself, may be matters of doubt—to the present writer they are matters of doubt which he

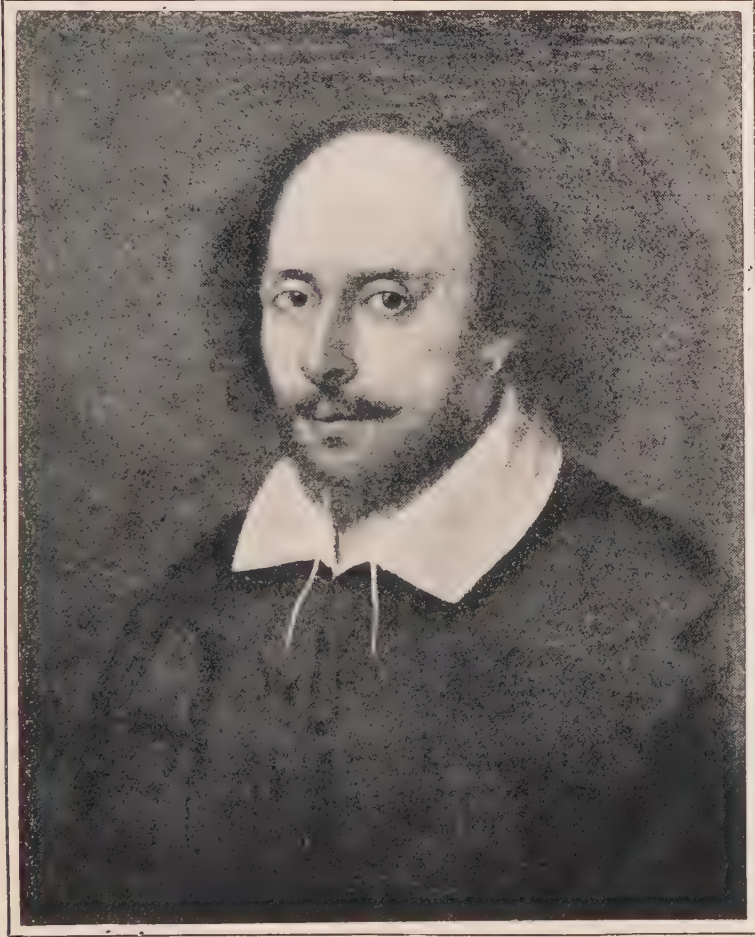


Photo: Walker & Cockerell, Clifford's Inn, E.C.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

neither can nor would greatly care to solve. But there is no doubt that in these years—the commonly accepted twelve from 1585 or 1586 to 1597 will do very well—he was, as the phrase was used of the next greatest man of letters in English,

"making himself," and making the English drama at the same time. Of the characteristics which under his hands and those of others it put on, something may be said later; we must, for the moment, turn to the companions whom, in this last ten or fifteen years of the sixteenth century, he had in the business.

Chapman.

The eldest of them, and in not a few ways the chief, was George Chapman, Shakespeare's elder of some half-dozen years, though he outlived him nearly twenty—a remarkable dramatist, a poet of merit, and an altogether admirable translator. It was practically impossible for anyone who had anything to do with the stage to keep out of "Bohemian" ways and "Bohemian" troubles; nor did Chapman: but he seems to have had comparatively little to do with them, and to have on the whole lived aloof. But the stage evidently had a strong attraction for him; and it would seem that he contributed to it from well within the reign of Elizabeth to well within that of Charles I. He was an Oxford man, and, as his *Homer* and other things show, no mean scholar; but he could never put off the somewhat unscholarly grandiosity, the towering aims not wholly proportioned to means, the tendency to rant in dialogue and to melodrama in incident and action, which Shakespeare, after experiencing the attractions of these "Delilahs of the theatre," pretty rapidly vanquished and outgrew.

Marston.

A sort of minor Chapman, like him a gentleman and an Oxford man, like him a member of the extreme blood-and-thunder tragic school, a lesser poet, but a satirist of great virulence and some vigour, was John Marston, whose birth-date is quite unknown, but who would seem to have been a young man in the closing years of the sixteenth century, when his satires and poems appeared, and had difficulties with the authorities. He wrote drama copiously in the early years of the next century, and seems to have taken orders, abjured the stage, and died about the same time as Chapman, *circa* 1634. In no English dramatist—not in Marlowe and his group, named and anonymous; not in that *nominis umbra* Cyril Tourneur, the very titles of whose plays (the *Revenger's Tragedy* and the *Atheist's Tragedy*) speak for themselves; not in Chettle and others, such as those contributors to the Shakespearian apocrypha, who wrote *Arden of Feversham* and the *Yorkshire*

Tragedy; not in the great examples of the time, who are to be named hereafter—Webster and Ford—is the tendency to rely on mere horror, on murders, treasons, and detested sins, more distinct than in Marston.

It is far less obvious in the personally almost unknown Dekker. Thomas Dekker, whose abundant work begins in Elizabeth's reign, and is always characterised by a sweet and gracious kindliness. And it is not eminently present in that of Benjamin Jonson, who, as the ruling figure of the next literary period, must be chiefly dealt with then, but whose rather stormy youth was beginning to subside into quieter ways before King James came to the throne, and whose admirable comedy, *Every Man in His Humour*, at any rate in its earliest form, was produced some five years before the Queen's death. But when it is said that these four were only the most prominent of a great company, some idea of the extraordinary fecundity of the time in drama and dramatists may, perhaps, be better given than by jejune lists or unintelligible allusions.

In the minor and general departments of poetry proper, somewhat less was done in this period than in that which succeeded it. Yet it is significant that not merely Spenser, but both the chiefs of the dramatic school—Marlowe, and Shakespeare himself—distinguished themselves at this time. Shakespeare and Spenser, indeed, though not Marlowe, are the chiefs of a very curious outburst of sonnet writing, which, The
Sonnet with a somewhat dissimilar (or, perhaps we may say, complementary) development in the writing of historical poems, is the chief feature in poetry proper of the last days of Elizabeth. The two great "historians," Drayton and Daniel, were sonneteers also; the third, as usually ranked, Warner, does not seem to have indulged in this diversion. But the "sugared sonnet" was, on the whole, the chief delight and exercise of the really Elizabethan poet. We have seen (pp. 138 *seq.*, 478) how Wyatt and Surrey introduced this alluring form; how, many years later, Sidney and Watson, soon to be followed by Spenser, poured out in it the sprightliest and choicest runnings of the new poetic spirit. But it was not till the last decade of the century, and more particularly till the four years, 1593-96, that the influence of the sonnet showed itself in its fullest force. The date of Shakespeare's sonnets is as unknown with

any certainty as most other things in reference to that marvellous collection; but there can be no moral doubt that they date in composition from this very time. About the sonnet production of others there is no doubt of any kind. The majority of the collections published during this period bear each the name of some real or fancied mistress; as had been the case with the earlier garlands of the French *Pléiade*, to the list of imitations whereof formerly given may here be added Lodge's paraphrases of Desportes, and the curious *adespoton* called *Zepheria*.

In 1593 Barnabe Barnes appeared with *Parthenophil*, Giles Fletcher the elder with *Licia*, and Thomas Lodge with *Phillis*. 1594 gave Willoughby's *Avisa*, Percy's *Cuelia*, the just named *Zepheria* of an unknown writer, Constable's *Diana*, Daniel's *Delia*, and Drayton's *Idea*; 1595 saw the appearance of *Alcilia*, by a certain "J. C."; 1596 supplied Spenser's *Amoretti*, Lynch's *Diella*, Griffin's *Fidessa*, and Smith's *Chloris*.

It must be understood that by no means all the poems in these collections are direct sonnets, even in that modified sense of directness which identifies the sonnet with any quatorzain. Watson himself had extended the sonnet in length to eighteen lines; and his successors very often gave the name (it may almost be said) to any love poem. But the majority of them are sonnets; there is strong likeness between them, and they constitute one of the most remarkable divisions of English poetry, scale and substance being allowed for. Occasionally, as in the best of Shakespeare and Spenser, or in that simply magnificent thing beginning—

"Since there's no help, come let us kiss and part"

—which appears in some editions of Drayton's *Idea*, but which is entirely unlike his general style, they may also challenge quite the top place in the achievements of that poetry; while the rest, in very different and various gradations of merit at least, betray the presence of a quite extraordinary poetical tone and temper in the mind of the time. Of the other chief forms in which this tone and temper displayed itself, one was very closely akin to the sonnets, one pretty far apart from them. These were the purely "song-literature" of the time, the poems which were actually meant to be sung to the lute or other instrument; and the Satires, which were, for a time at

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any rate, very much affected, and which, as written by Hall, Marston, Donne, Lodge, and others, supply a picture of manners to be used with a little caution, and an instance of imitation of the ancients (for Horace, Juvenal, and perhaps Persius most of all, are always before the writer's mind) which is not equally dangerous ground to tread on. To Persius, in all probability, the singularly harsh and crabbed style which these Satires affect is mostly due; to Juvenal, the somewhat strained air of moral indignation which they affect also.

Satire.

It is somewhat curious that the companion song-literature, which is larger in bulk and of infinitely greater charm, should have failed to keep the literary vogue which these Satires never wholly lost. Perhaps it may be due to the gradual disuse of the lute and its congeners as ordinary implements for the amusement and accomplishment of every gentleman and lady, which came about after the Restoration (though we find the old system maintained by Pepys and others). For the songs were commonly printed with the airs; and when the latter were not in request the former naturally dropped out of sight. But, as a matter of fact, this delightful division of Elizabethan literature was one of the latest to be discovered; and it is only within the last few years that it has become known to any but pretty careful students in the mass, or has overflowed in sample and by the channel of anthologies and "poetry-books" to the cognisance of the general reader. Yet its poetical merits are quite astonishing; and there is to this day something a little unintelligible and not quite "canny" in the attribution to men, sometimes quite unknown themselves, and if known, of no other known accomplishment in letters, of such ineffably beautiful things as those which are scattered about these books. It is not merely that the very soul of music seems to have passed into them; that they sing of themselves like the magic lutes of the legends, fashioned of dead men's bones, and strung with dead girls' hair. For mere poetry, without thought of accompaniment, they are not seldom equally wondrous.

The
Lyric.

The prose of the period is, perhaps, to the reader less interesting than the poetry; though we have, in the early work of Bacon, of Raleigh, and of others, anticipations of the gorgeous music which in the next age was to carry English prose to the very highest pitch, in some respects, that it has

Prose.

Hooker

ever attained. The truth seems to be that though there were great individual exponents of it, prose, as a whole, was in a state of half disorganisation and half reorganisation, just as poetry had been between Wyatt and Spenser. Something has been said in earlier sections of the prose of the early Renaissance writers, of whom Ascham is the chief in England, of its decent, sensible, but not very inspiring, combination of Latin order and vernacular strength. This was, during our present period, to reach the highest point it ever attained in the "Ecclesiastical Polity," which, as far as it appeared during the lifetime of its author, belongs to the last decade of the sixteenth century, the first instalment having appeared in 1594, and the second in 1597. From some points of view, no doubt, it may seem as if prose lost as much as it gained by deserting the norm of Hooker, who writes wonderfully at his best, and combines a very great advance in clearness, correctness, and elegance, with a total freedom from anything like jejuneness or aridity. If the diversion of a great part of the educated intellect of England from theological study and ecclesiastical feeling should be accompanied by a disuse of the reading of Hooker and the great divines who follow him, it will, taking the literary view only, be a most serious loss. There is, indeed, still about him a perhaps undue reminiscence of the Schools—not in method, subject, or quotation, but in general stamp and scheme of sentence and phrase. He still suggests to us a little the man to whom it would be at least as easy to write in Latin as in English, who is not quite sure that he ought not to write in Latin, and who, even when writing in English, cannot help showing the moulds of the Latin sentence, the memory of the Latin syntax. Yet it would not be fair to assert or insinuate that there is any constraint in Hooker; and certainly his achievement in English is a noble one. The more argumentative passages may smack a little of the thesis, which was still a live thing; the more historical and rhetorical, of the pulpit which the writer so often occupied, and which was more and more attracting the talents of Englishmen in expression and the taste of Englishmen in reception. But there are not many greater books in English than the "Ecclesiastical Polity," nor to the reader, who has even a little care for and expertness in the subject, many more attaching.

While this sober, scholarly prose till expressed the chief accomplishment of English letters in this department on one side; and while the strange *rococo* euphuism of Lyly (p. 458), of which enough has been said, gave a new expression in another, prose became more and more the vehicle of those who wished to communicate with the public. On the great scale and on the small it was being practised and put to all manner of purposes. Knolles, in his country home, was elaborating that huge "History of the Turks" which, when more than a

Knolles.



THE OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL, SANDWICH.
(Where Knolles Taught.)

century and a half had passed after his death, seemed to some judges still the greatest history on a large scale in English, and which, by all competent censure, is a great book in many other respects besides bulk. The educational writers, who have been already mentioned, were building their schemes for the teaching of youth and for the elaboration of something like what Dante, centuries before, had endeavoured and to a great extent succeeded in forging for Italy—an "illustrious, cardinal, curial, and courtly" speech for England. The equally remarkable though curiously shortlived school of literary critics (for till Dryden's day there was little resumption of their efforts)—Webbe, Puttenham, Campion, Harington, and Daniel

Criticism.

Travel
and
Politics.

—were devoting their attention to the same thing with special reference to the kinds and vehicles of English poetry. The records of the geographical explorations which employed so large a part of the enthusiasm of the age were being digested in all sorts of forms—some of them to take sooner or later the shape of the great collections of Hakluyt (who published in 1579) and Purchas. The huge miscellaneous pamphlet literature, which had already been of so much service to us, was being ceaselessly compiled and devoted to almost every kind of subject. Once, moreover, in the famous instance of that “Martin Marprelate” controversy, which coincided with the Armada (p. 612), this pamphlet production gathered itself up, and disengaged heat and force in a fashion never quite equalled since (except at the time of the Popish Plot), and hardly comprehensible to a generation the oldest members of which have, nevertheless, seen the first fights over the Reform Bill, the Anti-Corn Law agitation, and the “Tracts for the Times”—not to mention later controversies. Starting ostensibly as a sort of offshoot or incident of the debate between Presbyterianism and Prelacy, it seems, in some not clearly understood way, to have attracted the sympathies or antipathies of some of the chief literary men of the day. It found its way on to the stage (though this was promptly checked, and the results are not extant), it mixed itself up in the oddest manner with the jealousies of the Cambridge and London literary cliques. It was in fact a sort of anticipation (with its course made more lively by the circumstances of clandestine printing, Government interposition, and a few executions as a climax) of the newspaper controversies of later times. But these latter, it may be admitted by folk not very enthusiastic about our “glorious gains,” have some advantages in point of comfort and consequences.

Bacon.

It is one of the things which, though they have been constantly remarked upon, can never be omitted in any treatment of the subject to which they belong—that the greatest man (with Hooker) of this period in prose, Francis Bacon, was an utter heretic and misbeliever in respect of English prose itself. Breaking away from the admirable tradition for English, which no lesser scholars in the Classics than Ascham and Cheke had started in his own university, Bacon constantly expressed

his contempt for modern languages as vehicles of literature, his belief that things written in them were destined to be lost and forgotten. He would probably (if he had dared, and if his ambition had not been of the life of him, so that he could not neglect the set of popular taste) have written wholly in Latin; and as it was, he wrote in Latin when he dared, and when he did not dare, generally translated or caused to be translated his English writings into that tongue, as he thought preservative. Yet nobody then living, with the doubtful exceptions of Raleigh and Lord Brooke (the latter, for all his wilful obscurity, master of a splendid English style, very Baconian in parts), could have written the "Essays" which Bacon published in their first and roughest form during our period, in 1597. His most gorgeous work was to come later; but already in this he exhibited that faculty of magnificent phrase—not cumbrously embroidered upon meaning, but clothing it like a natural garment—which, in his own later days and the time after him, was to be cultivated with such wonderful success, and in the hands of Milton, Taylor, and Browne more particularly, and of a crowd of writers who were but little their inferiors, to enrich the language with imperishable treasures. It would not be just to say that Bacon's classical predilections deserve no credit for this phrase. His precision owes some royalty to the Latin Augustans, and his gorgeousness perhaps something to the Latin decadents. But in the main he is, as usual, debtor to but two things—his own innate genius and acquired or developed faculty on the one part, and the spirit of the age on the other.

And so, with a few words on that very spirit of the age—partly of summary, partly of additional definition—we may conclude this survey of a mighty subject.

Some critics, with more or less sustained and deliberate paradox—all, perhaps, who with any competence have tried to disengage and co-ordinate literary cause and effect in relation to periods—have felt disposed to doubt whether anything more can be said than that, at one time, a very large number of persons of unusual abilities took to the writing of books and that at other times they did not. In the present instance, however, some more definite advance on this negative and Pyrrhonist attitude may not unreasonably be attempted. All

The
Stimuli
of Eliza-
bethan
Literature.

the exciting causes which were mentioned earlier may fairly be said to have made for literary production; while there must be specially added to them the effects of the now considerably developed and diffused invention of printing. The changes in the Church (which introduced in every parish a family of children who were at least likely to be brought up with some tincture of letters, instead of a celibate clergy) more than made up for the dispersion of the monastic orders, which had hardly been, for some time previous to the dissolution, active fosterers of learning. And though far too small a part of the secularised ecclesiastical revenues was devoted to educational purposes, the part which did directly or indirectly find its way thither (through the fancy for founding colleges and grammar schools) was not inconsiderable, and must have exercised no small influence on the popularisation of letters. These things at once created a smaller class with a tendency to study and write, and a much larger class with at least no unwillingness to read if not to study. Add the theatre, add the burning social and ecclesiastical controversies, add the fermenting force of the great political changes which were to take place in the seventeenth century, and it will at least appear that it would have been more odd if Elizabethan literature had not been great than surprising that it was.

Its
Quality.

And yet, as always, the unknown, the inexplicable, the element of chance and idiosyncrasy, still counts for the greater art of the matter. The campaigns of Alexander might have been thought likely to stimulate literature as much as the voyages of Columbus; yet they hardly influenced it at all: and the most specious explanations of the Augustan age at Rome leave a tolerably well-trained sceptic unable to admit any particular reason why it should not have come a century before or a century after. So also in the Elizabethan period, while we can perceive some reasons why it may have been what it was, we cannot ascribe the whole causation with anything like accuracy or satisfaction. After all, there were certain men who could and did write verse and prose, as only a single Englishman had hitherto written verse and as no Englishman had written prose. They were surrounded by a still larger number or inferior but not contemptible talents—all imitating or innovating, experimenting or practising. There was yet a larger

public which was purely receptive; let it be remembered that so vast a book as Knolles' "History" went through three editions in twenty years, and that many other books—though, perhaps, no very large number of copies was reprinted at any one time—were constantly reissued. There must have been—though, except in the case of playwrights, we have very indefinite information as to what it was—some kind of regular



PORTRAIT OF BAJAZET.

(Knolles, "*History of the Turks*," 1603.)

remuneration which made it worth while to write books, and possible even to make a livelihood as a writer of books only.

But, above all, there was an incalculable, indefinable spirit abroad which is there or is not, which is traceable often from the comparative point of view even more in the mediocre or lower authors of a time than in its chief illustrations, and makes the time notable or unnotable, according to its presence or absence. The average work of the strictly Elizabethan period is notoriously of the most unequal character. Many plays, even by authors of high general repute, are extremely difficult to read as wholes, and perhaps owe part of the steady maintenance of their reputation to this very fact. Really un-

flawed and equable work is excessively rare, even with the very greatest names. Much of the non-dramatic verse is mannered, affected, unreal; while much else is slovenly and trivial. The prose is often pedantic, often conceited, often dull. But the everlasting and overmastering justification of the place assigned to the Elizabethans is not affected by these admissions, and lies quite elsewhere. It lies not more in the fact that in the greater writers beauties of the most dazzling kind are common, and that the whole atmosphere is one of passion, of pathos, of vague promise and potency, than in the fact that things hardly less beautiful are quite likely to be found in writers on the whole quite inferior. In reading a fourth-rate Elizabethan play, a sonneteer who is evidently writing in a school, an industrious teacher of the viol who has got some words to his airs or some airs to his words, flashes and spurts of exquisite literature are not likely, but are sure sooner or later to make their appearance. There are more books written, with a vast deal more knowledge, and even with a certain advance in strict formal merit, in the last decade of the nineteenth century than there were in the last decade of the sixteenth. I think the average quality of the books of this our time is as respectable an average quality as you shall find at any period in literary history. But you will not find in them often—if you will find in any but those of the very greatest authors—the flash, the shock, the startling and yet delightful thrill which comes again and again on the readers, not merely of Shakespeare and Spenser, not merely of Marlowe and Donne, but of Dr. Thomas Campion and Captain Tobias Hume.

**R. E.
PROTHERO.**
The Agri-
cultural
Counter-
Revolution.

THE characteristic feature of the close of the reign of Elizabeth was that the transition stage from tillage to sheep-farming came to an end. The balance was once more restored between them. Enclosures continued to be made throughout the sixteenth century; but at the end of the period under review they were not accompanied by the features which had so greatly aggravated the miseries of agricultural labourers. The popular saying had been verified, that "it was never merry with poor craftsmen since gentlemen had become graziers." At the close of Elizabeth's reign, however, the high prices of English wool

declined, and at the same time the value of corn and meat rose rapidly. Hence, a stimulus was given to arable farming which provided employment for the rural population.

The decline in the value of English wool affords a curious illustration of the extent to which enclosure had been carried. When English wool first came into the Flemish market, it was distinguished for its fineness, and sold at a higher rate than its Spanish rival. It was indispensable for the weaver. The best fleeces were those of the Ryeland or Herefordshire sheep, of which Leominster was the market. In the days of Skelton, Elynour Rummyng, ale-wife of Leatherhead, received from her customers payment in kind:

Fall
in the
Value of
Wool.

“Some fill their pot full
Of good Lemster wool.”

Drayton's Dawsabel had a “skin as soft as Lemster wool.” Rabelais makes Panurge cheapen the flock of Dingdong; and when the latter descants upon the fineness of their fleeces, the translator (Motteux: 1717) compares them to the quality of “Lemynster wool.” The second price was fetched by Cotswold wool. The sheep that are kept upon heaths and commons, and walk for their food, produce the finest, though not the most abundant, fleeces. It was the experience of Virgil—

“Si tibi laniçium curae, . . . fuge pabula laeta.”
[“Is wool thy care? Rich pasture must be shunned.”]

In the same sense writes Dyer:

“On spacious airy downs, and gentle hills,
With grass and thyme o'erspread, and clover wild
The fairest flocks rejoice!”

As the commons of England began to be extensively enclosed, the quality of the fleeces deteriorated. Heavier animals—better suited to fat pastures, and producing coarse but abundant wool—were introduced. English wool lost its pre-eminence; and, though still obtaining high prices, was no longer indispensable to the weaver. This decrease in value was at least as influential in checking the conversion of arable land to pasture as Acts of Parliament. The last of those Acts (1597) ordered that all arable land which had been made pasture since the accession of Queen Elizabeth should be reconverted to tillage, and none then under the plough should be laid down to grass.

The
Effect

The fluctuation in the price of wool probably checked the break-up of the open-field system. When enclosures began again, sheep once more supplied the impetus. So long as roots and artificial grasses were unknown to English farmers, sheep were cotted in the winter months. When winter keep became known, a change was passing over sheep-farming. The animal was originally prized more for its fleece than its carcass. In the eighteenth century the value was reversed. Meat grew more profitable than wool. Heavier animals were cultivated, and turnips put the means of keeping them into the farmer's hands. In this new source of wealth was found a strong incentive to break up the heaths and commons which belonged to the open-field system, and to substitute enclosed compact tenancies, on which turnips could be grown and eaten off by folded sheep.

Simultaneously with the decline of profits from sheep-farming came an advance in the value of other agricultural produce. The Legislature was prompt to encourage a change which promised relief to the congested labour markets, and to the poverty of rural districts. Restrictions on the exportation were gradually lightened, while protective duties were imposed on foreign grain. For owners of land (whether landlords or yeomen), for copyholders and tenant-farmers, the times were prosperous. Even agricultural labourers shared in the good fortune; for, though their wages remained low and only fitfully rose with the decline in the purchasing-power of money, they were more secure of employment, and thus the worst of their evils was over.

Increase
of Pro-
duction.

"The soil," says Harrison, "had growne to be more fruitful, and the countryman more painful, more careful, and more skilful for recompense of gain." Internal communication was facilitated, and new roads opened up new markets. Increased attention was paid to manuring. In Cornwall, farmers rode many miles for sand, and brought it home on horseback; seaweed was extensively used on the land in South Wales; in Sussex, lime was fetched from a distance and at considerable expense. In Middlesex and Hertfordshire, the sweepings of the London streets were bought up for the fields. The yield per acre was rising. On the well-tilled and dressed acre, we are told that wheat averaged twenty bushels, barley thirty-two



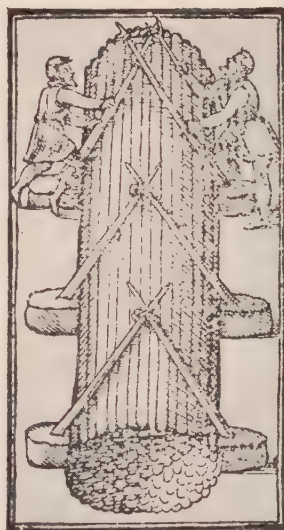
Tying to Poles.



Cutting Roots.



Ramming of Poles.



Stacking Poles.



Taking from Poles.

HOP CULTURE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

(R. Scot, "*Perfite Platforme of a Hop Garden*," 1574.)

Hops.

bushels, oats and beans forty bushels. The cultivation of hops was assuming importance, though the distich, of which another version has already been quoted (Vol. II., p. 736)—

“Hops, reformation, bays, and beer
Came into England all in one year”

puts the date of their introduction into England too late. Their use was borrowed from the Low Countries by the farmers of the Eastern Counties at the end of the fifteenth century. By the reign of Edward VI., the cultivation of hops had assumed such importance, that an Act of Parliament permitting their growth under certain restrictions was passed in 1552. A quarter of a century later appeared the first treatise on the industry. Reginald Scot's “*Perfite Platforme of a Hoppe Garden*” was published in 1576; and contains minute instructions for the growing, picking, drying, and packing of hops. Hasted, in his “*History of Kent*,” notices that orchards were turned into hop-gardens; and in Suffolk, in the days of Tusser, hops were extensively cultivated.

**Enclo-
sure and
Improve-
ment.**

Part of the improvement was undoubtedly due to enclosures, and to the new scope which the possession of a separate farm gave to industrial energy. Essex and Suffolk are quoted both by Fitzherbert and Tusser to prove the superior cultivation of enclosed land. The proverbial expression “*Suffolk stiles*” seems to point to the early extinction of open fields. Norden, in his “*Essex Described*” (1594), calls it the “*Englishe Goshen*, the fattest of the Lande, comparable to Palestina, that floweth with milke and hunnye.” So “*manie and sweete*” were its “*commodities*” that they compensated for the “*moste cruell quarterne fever*” which he caught among its low-lying lands. To these witnesses may be added the evidence of “*W. S., Gentleman*,” whose “*Compendious Examination of Extraordinary Complaints of our Countrymen*” was published in 1581. To the husbandmen—who complained that arable land is enclosed and turned into pasture, that rents are raised and labour unemployed—it is shown that the most prosperous counties are those which (like Essex, Suffolk, and Northamptonshire) are most enclosed.¹

¹ It must be remembered that the value of the sheep on arable land was at this period totally unknown. Hence the two branches of farming, which now are combined with advantage to both the sheep farmer and the corn

Of the general prosperity of the land-owning and land-renting portion of the rural community there is sufficient evidence. The ordinary fare of the country gentleman was abundant, if not profuse. The dinner which Justice Shallow ordered for Falstaff might be quoted as an illustration. But more direct testimony may be produced. Harrison, writing at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, says that the usual dinner of a country gentleman was "four, five, or six dishes, when they have but small resort."

The
Prosperity
of the
Gentry



COUNTRY HOUSE SHUT UP.

(*Rosburgh Ballad.*)

Gervase Markham — whose "English Housewife," though published somewhat later, was written about the same time — gives directions for a "great feast," and for "a more humble feast, or an ordinary proportion which any good man may keep in his family, for the entertainment of his true and worthy friend." The "humble feast or ordinary proportion" includes "sixteen dishes of meat that are of substance, and not empty, or for show." To these "sixteen full dishes," he adds "sallets, fricases, quelque chose, and devised paste, as many dishes more which make the full service no less than thirty-and-

grower, were entirely disservered. The arable farmer had only his commons or his pasture to rely upon for the summer and winter keep of his flock. His

land was tilled for wheat, barley, oats, and beans. He knew no other crops. Artificial grasses, turnips, swedes, mangolds, were not yet introduced, and, until they took their place among the ordinary crops for which arable land was cultivated, no farmer experienced the truth of the saying that the foot of the sheep turns sand into gold.



COOKS.

(*Barclay, "Ship of Fools," 1509.*)

two dishes." In dress, also, the country gentry were growing more expensive and costly, imitating the "diversities of jagges and change of colours" of the Frenchman. Already, too, as Bishop Hall has described in his "Satires," they were in the habit of deserting their country houses for the gaiety of towns, and the "thankful swallow" built her "circled nest" in

"The towered chimnies, which should be
The windpipes of good hospitalitie."

and
Farmers.

Of the yeomen, or substantial farmers, Harrison says that



IRON CHIMNEY PLATE (*Ipswich Museum*).

(From a photograph, by permission of the Curator).

they "commonlie live wealthilie, keepe good houses, and travell to get riches." Their houses were furnished with "costlie furniture," and they had "learned also to garnish their cupboards with plate, their joined beds with tapistrie and silk hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine draperie." Old men noted these changes in luxurious habits—"the multitude of chimnies latelie erected," "the great amendment of lodging," and "the exchange of vessell," as of treene platters into pewter, "and wooden spoones into silver or tin." In the Isle of Wight Sir John Oglander, comparing the state of the country at the close of Elizabeth's reign and at the outbreak of the Civil War,



FRUIT TRENCHER OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD.
(British Museum.)

says: "Money was as plentiful in the yeomen's purses as now in the best of the gentry, and all of the gentry full of money and out of debt."

The copyholder's house is described by Bishop Hall as being—

"Of one bay's breadth, God wot, a silly cote
Whose thatched spars are furred with sluttish soote
A whole inch thick, shining like blackmoor's brows,
Through smoke that downe the headlesse barrel blows.
At his bed's feete feeden his stalled teame,
His swine beneath, his pullen o'er the beame."

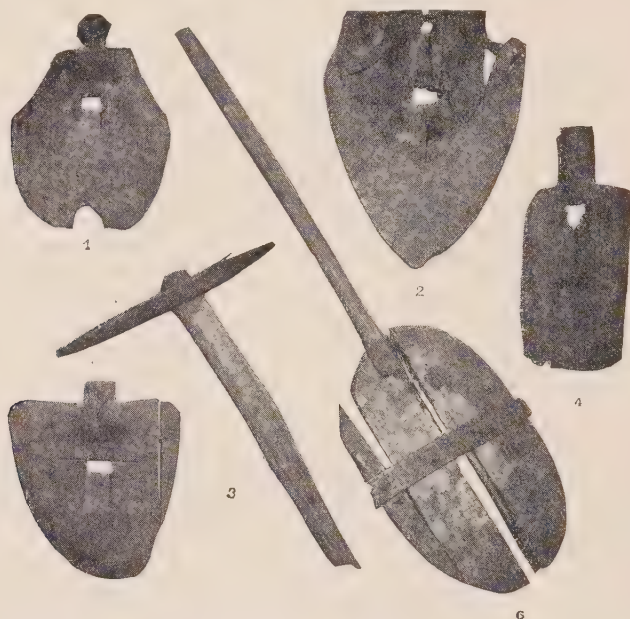
But the fare which he enjoyed was probably more rudely plentiful than that which falls to the lot of the labourer of to-day. In one of the Elizabethan pastoral poems, a noble huntsman finds shelter under a shepherd's roof. The food, even if we allow something for Arcadian licence, was good. The guest is welcomed with the best that the host can furnish:

"Browne bread, whig, bacon, curds, and milke,
Were set him on the borde."

At this time, it was probable that no great rise in rents had been made. The benefit of the rise in prices of produce was chiefly felt by the cultivators of land; and their prosperity arose, not from advanced science, nor increased economy, nor improved methods of cultivation, but from the rapid rise in the prices of corn and meat. It was due, in the first place, to the unjust labour laws, which prevented wages from rising to their natural level, and thus cheapened the labour bill of the employer. It was due, in the second place, to the sudden influx of the precious metals and the consequent rapid rise in prices. But no permanent prosperity could in fact be expected until substantial improvements were effected in agriculture, which should at once increase the amount and cheapen the cost of production. The only new crop which was introduced into sixteenth century farming was the cultivation of hops. During the first half of the seventeenth century, on the contrary, a variety of improvements and fresh materials for profitable farming were introduced into the country, though it was not till a hundred and fifty years later that they were extensively adopted in English agriculture.

J. E.
 SYMES.
 The Pro-
 gress of
 Commerce.

THE second half of Elizabeth's reign saw a great increase of national wealth and of national commerce; but it was not marked by any great change in industrial policy, nor by any very new industrial tendencies. The organisation of industry and commerce by the Statute of Apprentices and



1, Oak shovel from stream-work, near Altarnun; 2, Ironshod shovel, 16th cent., found in stream-work at Luxulyan; 3, oak pickaxe found in peat-moss at Rosetague, St. Just; 4 and 5, oak shovel from stream-work on the Goss Moor and near Lanivet respectively; 6, spoon shovel hewn out of one piece of oak, from Carnon Stream.

CORNISH MINERS' TOOLS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

(Truro Museum. By permission of the Royal Institution of Cornwall.

From a photograph by G. Penrose, Esq.)

the trading companies; the policy of protecting native industries, and of encouraging the importation of silver and gold; the rise in prices, and the slower rise in (money) wages; the building up of new manufactures, with the help of refugees from the Netherlands and from France—all these tendencies and forces continued at work during the second half of Elizabeth's reign, and, in fact, it was then that their results were most clearly to be seen. The peaceful and

1603]

economical policy of the great Queen aided the accumulation of capital; whilst the encouragement given to rovers and pirates stimulated the spirit of adventure and the arts of seamanship, and indirectly promoted our foreign trade. That English gentlemen of good birth and high character rushed into the profession of piracy (p. 650) is one of the most characteristic facts of the Elizabethan age. We must connect it partly with the new spirit of enterprise which the Renaissance had ushered in, partly, perhaps, with the loosening of moral bonds which accompanied the religious revolution. We cannot altogether wonder that refugees from the persecutions under Edward VI. and Mary had sometimes taken to piracy as a means of earning a livelihood; or that unscrupulous adventurers, like Lord Seymour, had been attracted by the possibilities which it offered. But in the reign of Elizabeth piracy acquired a new moral and religious character, from its connection with that hatred of Spain and of Rome which many good Protestants regarded as a religious and patriotic sentiment. To rob Spaniards was to avenge the martyrs of the Inquisition and to spoil the enemies of the Lord. The Government encouraged the movement for its own ends. It felt that the pirates might form a useful naval reserve, and it was glad to see its enemies annoyed and injured without the expense and risks of a formal war. In the early part of the reign this weapon was chiefly used against France; but the sea-rovers soon found that the Spanish vessels offered a richer spoil. The mutual jealousies of France and Spain, and the desire of both for an English alliance, drove them to submit to these depredations. Philip, indeed, resorted to retaliation, but the event proved that this was a game in which the English gained more than they lost. Philip could not bring himself to declare war, though Spanish treasures and Spanish subjects were being openly sold in English ports, and rich ransoms were being obtained for the liberation of some of those who were thus captured. In 1572, when the Government only owned thirteen armed ships, it reckoned its navy at 146, for there were 133 armed vessels, which, although private property, and used for piracy or trade, could, at any crisis, be pressed into the Queen's service.

Maritime
Adven-
ture.

With the same object of strengthening its naval forces, the Government encouraged the fisheries. We have seen that for

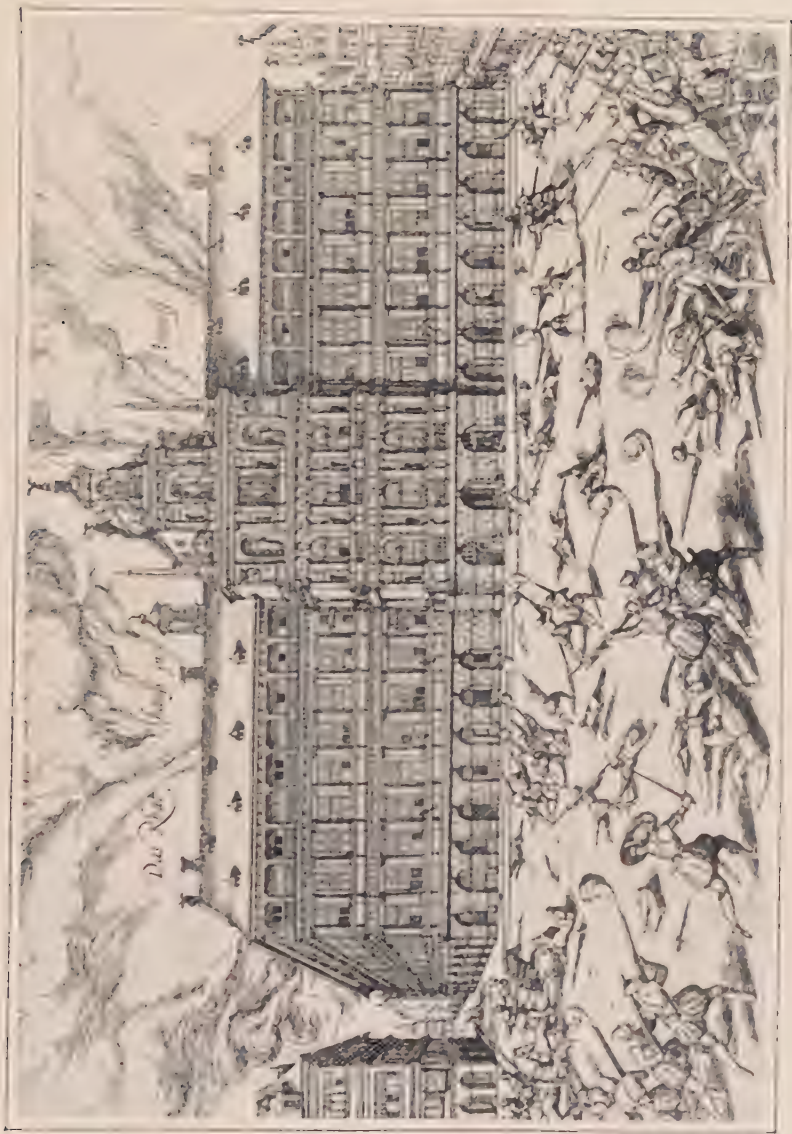
Fisheries. this purpose they enforced fasts, in the religious efficacy of which they had little belief (p. 493). Iceland was the chief of the more distant resorts of English fishermen. Hakluyt tells us that in 1577 we had only fifteen vessels engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries, against 150 French, 100 Spanish, and fifty Portuguese; but he adds that our ships were the best, and gave the law to the rest, and protected them from pirates.

Whaling. The same writer records the beginning of the English whale fisheries in 1593. The Russia Company soon afterwards made this industry part of its regular work; and though they seem



THE FLEMISH CLOTH-HALL, CRANBROOK, KENT.

to have been ignorant of the value of whalebone and fins, they made considerable profit out of the oil. This company, however, rapidly decayed towards the close of Elizabeth's reign. Sir Walter Raleigh, in his "Observations Concerning the Trade and Commerce of England" (1603), informed King James that, whereas down to about 1590 a store of goodly English ships went annually to Russia, only four had gone in 1600, and only two or three in 1602. By that time the Netherlands had secured their independence from Spain, and were recovering with extraordinary rapidity from the persecutions and devastations of their late rulers. They had, in fact, already become



THE SACK OF ANTWERP, 1576.
(from a contemporary Dutch engraving)

the foremost commercial nation of the world, and were ousting the English from many branches of foreign trade.

An Im-
pulse to
our Com-
merce.

In the earlier years, however, of the period here dealt with, their immigrants had continued to render inestimable services to English industry. The sacking of Antwerp by Alva in 1585 completed the ruin of what had been, till the previous sacking in 1576, by far the greatest mercantile emporium in the world. Much of its business was now transferred to London, which was, indeed, becoming the clearing-house of the world, receiving large quantities of goods for re-exportation, and settling many international financial transactions. We have seen, however, that the Netherlands soon recovered the foremost position in European commerce, Amsterdam taking the place which Bruges and Antwerp had successively enjoyed. In manufactures, on the contrary, England steadily progressed. We no longer sent wool to be worked up in Flanders, except for some of the finer processes, and especially for dyeing.

The
Slave
Trade.

Our African slave trade is said to have been started in 1562 by John Hawkins. He fitted out three ships, by subscription, and sailed with them to the coast of Guinea. There he obtained slaves, whom he carried off to Hispaniola. Having sold his living cargo he purchased hides, sugar, ginger, and pearls. Then he returned home. The profits made by these transactions encouraged him to make two other similar voyages, and he was rewarded by permission to add to his coat-of-arms a demi-Moor proper, bound with a cord! Elizabethan Englishmen viewed the slave trade with no moral abhorrence; in fact, it was at first such negroes as would otherwise have been put to death as criminals or enemies who were sold to Europeans; and it might plausibly be maintained that they were the chief gainers by the transaction. Soon, no doubt, the gaudy articles brought by the traders tempted native chiefs to sell innocent members of their own tribes, or to engage in wars simply in order to capture prisoners; but such considerations did not trouble our ancestors. Queen Elizabeth herself did not hesitate to share in the risks and profits of Hawkins' second voyage; and if Burghley had "no liking for such proceedings," it was apparently because he knew that the slaves were to be sold in Spanish colonies against the laws of Spain, rather than

from any pity for the poor Africans. At a later time a company, known as the Guinea or African Company, was incorporated to carry on the African trade. In addition to slaves they dealt in various commodities, more especially importing into England gold, which was coined into guineas.

The
African
Company.

In 1592 a new charter was given to the Levant, or Turkey Company. This company was originally incorporated in 1581; but its privileges were only granted to it for seven years. During the four years between 1588 and 1592 the Levant trade appears to have been free, and when the new charter was given provision was made for giving outsiders a share in the trade. This company, however, like most of the others, had only a very moderate degree of prosperity. The demoralising influence of the monopoly, the energetic rivalry of the Dutch, and the fluctuating policy of the Turkish Government, probably account for its want of success.

The
Levant
Company.

Near the close of Elizabeth's reign (December 31, 1600) the East India Company, the one brilliantly successful trade company, was incorporated; but it will be more convenient to deal with its early career in the next chapter, to which also we may defer the American trade, which was inconsiderable in Elizabeth's time.

The
East
India
Company.

In the period we are dealing with, Elizabeth's Government continued its efforts to regulate and organise the various domestic industries. By Acts passed in the thirty-ninth and forty-third years of the reign, the Statute of Apprentices was extended and amended, and the re-organisation of companies, referred to in the last chapter, was energetically pushed forward. The system of granting patents and monopolies was also extended, and, indeed, was greatly abused. The right of exclusive dealing, originally given in the supposed interest of the community, was now being granted to favourites and courtiers, and sold by them to the highest bidder. In other cases the monopolies were sold by the Crown for the sake of the revenue they brought in. The purchasers naturally made use of their monopoly to demand high prices, and to pass off inferior goods on the public. At first the monopolies were confined to luxuries of foreign growth, but the system had now been extended to common, and even necessary articles—such as salt, steel, starch, coal, and leather. Public indigna-

The
Growth
of Mono-
polies.

tion rose high, and in the Parliament of 1597 the subject was resolutely brought forward. The Queen "hoped her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative"; and promised to examine into all the patents that had been granted, and to see that no illegality had been practised. But the promises came to little, and when Parliament met again in 1601 the Commons returned fiercely to the charge. The Ministers urged that the House should satisfy itself with a petition, and one, at least, of the courtiers offered to resign his monopolies. But the Opposition persisted in their denunciations till the Queen thought it best to yield, and Cecil announced, in her name, that all the existing patents should be repealed, and no more should be granted. This announcement was received with gratitude, to which the Queen replied, "I have more cause to thank you all than you me, for had I not received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lap of an error only for lack of true information." Elizabeth knew when to yield, and could yield graciously; but it is interesting to notice that she, who so often overruled the wishes of her subjects on political and religious matters, should have given way so completely on a purely commercial question.



MERCHANT'S TABLE
OF 1550, BRISTOL.

The Queen's promises were not, however, kept. Some of the most objectionable patents were withdrawn, but the majority were left untouched, and the subject became one of the matters of contention between the Stuart kings and their Parliaments. It was not till 1624 that the granting of monopolies was definitely made illegal by Act of Parliament; and, even then, exceptions were made in the case of new inventions and of certain specified commodities.

Their
Abolition.

Interest.

The growth of the commercial spirit among Englishmen in the sixteenth century is evidenced by the changed feeling on the subject of taking interest ("usury"). An Act of Parliament passed in 1545, while formally condemning all lending at usury, in accordance with the traditional morality, practically

surrendered the principle, and only strove to prevent excessive interest. Seven years later the old condemnation was revived, but in 1571 Elizabeth's Parliament reverted to the settlement of 1545. The legal maximum rate was at this time ten per cent., but in 1624 it was only eight per cent. The accumulation of wealth, and especially of wealth in the form of money, increased the desire to lend at interest, whilst the growing spirit of adventure and the multiplying openings for trade simultaneously increased the desire to borrow and the willingness



THE HOG HOUSE, BUXTED, SUSSEX.

(The Residence of an Ironfounder of the period.)

to pay for the accommodation. In the Middle Ages borrowing implied misfortune or thriftlessness, and lending at interest meant generally the taking advantage of a neighbour's distress or folly. We can, therefore, easily understand why it was so strongly condemned by the Church and public opinion. But in a more industrious age the desire to borrow, even at interest, would often arise from fresh opportunities of profitable trading; instead of being a step in the spendthrift's downward course, it would often be part of a prudent progress to greater wealth. The old idea lingered long in men's minds, but the lending at interest had become in so many cases a convenience and

Banking.

advantage to both parties and to the community, that we can scarcely wonder that both the law and public opinion were gradually modified. The law still professed to condemn usury, but it practically limited its aim to the prevention of excessive rates of interest. The next step was naturally a system of intermediaries discharging some of what we now call banking functions. The goldsmiths began to borrow at interest in order to lend out to traders at a higher rate. In other words, they became the connecting link between those who had money to lend and those who wished to borrow for trading purposes, or it might be to improve their estates. No doubt at first the goldsmiths merely acted as guardians of their clients' hoards, but they soon began to utilise those hoards much as bankers now make use of the money deposited with them. The Government itself soon took to borrowing at interest from bankers for short periods, till the taxes or other forms of revenue came in. There had been a bank at Venice as early as the twelfth century, and at Genoa in the fourteenth, but the bank at Amsterdam (founded 1609) soon outstripped all its rivals.

The Position of Labour.

It was undoubtedly the middle and upper classes who profited chiefly by the development of industry and commerce in the reign of Elizabeth. The actual money wages of labour hardly increased, while the prices of almost all commodities were rising. Thus, if we compare the magistrates' assessments for wages in Rutlandshire for 1564 and for 1610, we get the following results:—

			1564.		1610.
Ordinary artisan (summer)	...	9d.	...	9d. or 10d.	per diem.
" " (winter)	...	8d.	...	8d.	"
Agricultural labourer (summer)	...	7d.	...	7d.	"
" " (winter)	...	6d.	...	6d.	"
Mower ...	...	(not given separately)			10d. "
Reaper ...	...	"	"	8d.	"

Wages and Prices.

Here, we see, the only advances were a fractional increase in the summer wages of an artisan, and perhaps some extra remuneration of the more skilled kinds of farm labour. Meanwhile, wheat had risen from 19s. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per quarter to £2 0s. 4d.; malt, from 10s. 8d. to 13s. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; and prices generally, by more than fifty per cent. On the other hand, it has to be noticed that the rise was somewhat less in the articles consumed by labourers than in those consumed by

1603]

the upper and middle classes; and that while wages probably rose somewhat more rapidly than the magistrates' assessments, there was also apparently more regularity of employment. Moreover, many of the labourers kept a cow, and did, generally, more agricultural work on their own account, and thus often gained a little by the rise of prices. If we compare the decennium beginning 1583 with that beginning 1603, we find that wheat, which, we must remember, was not, to any great extent, an article of labourers' consumption, rose fifty per cent.,



WEIGHTS OF THE MEDIEVAL AND STUART PERIODS.

(Archaeological Museum, Cambridge.)

but oats only twenty-five per cent. In the same period malt rose thirty per cent., and the average price of sheep about twenty-five per cent.; while the wages of common labour only rose about three per cent. We can scarcely doubt that this difference outweighed the counterbalancing facts referred to above, and therefore we conclude, though with some hesitation, that the material condition of the labouring class was actually deteriorating during the twenty years that we are dealing with; while, if we made the comparison with the second half of the fifteenth century, we should find the deterioration very much more considerable.

How far this deterioration was due to the expansion of the currency is less easy to determine. Taking Europe as a whole, Mr. Jacobs calculates the total stock of money in silver and gold

at the beginning of the century at £34,000,000; and the additional produce of the mines during the century, after making allowance for wear of coins, at £138,000,000. But of this, much went to Asia, and much was used in arts and manufacture, and for various purposes other than coinage. This Mr. Jacobs estimates at £42,000,000. Accordingly, the stock of money in Europe at the end of the century was about £130,000,000, as against £34,000,000 at the beginning. How much of this circulated in England is not easy to determine; but Elizabeth coined, on an average, during the forty-four years of her reign, £125,311 annually, viz. £107,240 in silver, and £18,071 in gold, making a gross total for the reign of £5,513,717. Of this, only £733,248 was issued from the Mint at the general re-coinage. We cannot, therefore, wonder at the great rise in prices; but the effects on the condition of the labourers seem opposed to the popular view that such a rise is likely to benefit the labouring classes. In reality, it seems that all rapid fluctuations generally have the opposite effect, whether the movement of prices be upwards or downwards.

The following table shows the average prices of typical commodities, as calculated by Thorold Rogers for the decennial periods, 1583-1593, and 1603-1613:—

	1583-93.			1603-13.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Wheat, per quarter	1	3	8 $\frac{1}{9}$	1	15	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Barley " "	0	12	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	19	5
Oats " "	0	8	1	0	11	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Malt " "	0	14	5	0	19	10
Cloth (common) per 12 yards	1	1	7	1	4	2
Velvet per yard	1	0	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Linen, second best table, per 12 yards	1	18	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	13	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Canvas (commonest table)	0	9	3	0	8	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Iron (wrought) per cwt.	1	4	7	1	12	8
Lead (wrought) " "	0	12	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	15	4
Sugar per 12 lb.	0	17	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	0	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Rice " "	0	5	9	0	6	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Herrings, 120	0	2	8	0	3	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Oysters, 120	0	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	9
Haberdens (salt cod) 120... ..	3	4	3	3	3	2
Candles, 12 lb.	0	3	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	4	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Beans	0	16	11	0	19	2
Peas	0	16	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	17	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Oxen (highest price)	4	7	1	6	9	8
Sheep (average)	0	7	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	9	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Horses, Coach (highest price)	11	4	10	11	16	2



WEIGHTS AND MEASURES OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.
(*Archaeological Museum, Cambridge.*)

The following are specimens of the average weekly wages during the same decennial periods:—

						1583-93.			1603-13.		
						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Carpenters	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	11½	...	0	6 0½
Bricklayers	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	11	...	0	6 8½
Sawyers	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	3½	...	0	5 9½
Women (ordinary)	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	11¾	...	0	2 6

Economic Progress.

We may now briefly review the economic movements of Elizabeth's reign. On the whole, this period was one of great commercial progress. While the population of England steadily increased, her wealth increased far more rapidly. From being



FIREBACK, 1587. (Lewes Museum.)

almost purely agricultural and pastoral, our country had now entered on that career which, in the eighteenth century, made her foremost among the nations both in manufactures and commerce; but agriculture remained our chief industry, and we were still far behind

the Dutch in almost all branches of commerce. This progress was made possible and inaugurated by the restoration of the currency. It was stimulated by the advent of skilled immigrants, by the rise in prices, and especially by the growing energy of the people. It was fostered, directly by the peaceful and economical policy of Elizabeth, and indirectly by the havoc wrought by religious wars among our foreign rivals. It manifested itself in the great outburst of luxury and splendour which marked the closing years of the reign.

The Division of the Product.

On the other hand, it must be noticed that it was the upper and middle classes who secured for themselves almost the whole of the increment in natural wealth. Whilst the money wages of the labourer increased, his real time-wages (measured in the commodities purchasable for a day's wages) undoubtedly decreased. It is probable, indeed, that this diminution was balanced by greater regularity of employment; but, at best, the labourer was worse off than his great-grandparents had been at the close of the fifteenth century, and not perceptibly

better off than his parents in the early years of Elizabeth. In spite, however, of the great authority of Thorold Rogers, I cannot believe that the labourer's position steadily deteriorated



PAGE FROM BULLEIN'S "BOOK OF SIMPLES."

in the sixteenth century. I should rather maintain that it grew worse down to about 1560; that it then improved for a few years, and that after that it remained fairly stationary till the close of the century.

The classes immediately above that of the wage-earners, which included small farmers, shopkeepers, and small employers,

The
Middle
Classes.

naturally profited greatly by the rise in prices. Those who buy to sell again, whether what they sell is in the same form as when bought, or worked up by their own industry, or the forces of Nature, obviously gain something more than the natural fruit of their industry, if prices rise between the time when they buy and the time when they sell. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find that the middle classes grew greatly both in numbers and wealth during the reign of Elizabeth. It was these classes who were most attracted towards Puritanism, which thus became, before the close of Elizabeth's reign, an important factor in the national life, though it was still only slightly represented in the House of Commons, and still more slightly in the House of Lords.

The
Upper
Classes.

Among the upper classes, too, we find many evidences of increased prosperity. The rise in rents was not indeed proportionate to the general rise in prices; but the upper classes invested largely in the trading and buccaneering enterprises of the time, which, in spite of frequent losses, brought in on the whole very advantageous returns. Moreover, owing to the spread of commerce, the prices of many luxuries from abroad actually fell, while others only slightly advanced. The upper classes now lived, as we have seen (p. 734), in houses built of brick or stone, with chimneys and glass windows, carpets, cushions, and other comforts, which had been, before Elizabeth's reign, almost unattainable luxuries; and there was a corresponding improvement in their dress and in their food.

W. A. S.
HEWINS.
The Poor
Laws of
Elizabeth.

THE Reformation would in any case have made necessary much social legislation during the reign of Elizabeth. But great changes were in progress in every sphere of economic activity, and the natural evils of a period of transition were aggravated by a currency problem of the first magnitude. It was in these circumstances that the Poor Law, whose early history has been already described, was shaped into a form which, whatever its defects, was destined to remain unchanged in its essential features for nearly two hundred and fifty years. The statutes dealing with the poor during the reign of Elizabeth were not the work of a group of philanthropists, pursuing their own course. The same individuals, the same committees

of Lords and Commons, in the same session of Parliament, took counsel with each other, struggled and fought about Bills for the increase of tillage, for regulating industry, for the maintenance of navigation, as well as Bills for punishing vagabonds, erecting houses of correction, and relieving the poor. Thus the "Poor Laws of Elizabeth" may very well be described as part of one great economic system.

The first of them,¹ like the Statute of Apprenticeship, was introduced in the House of Lords. It passed that House on 16th March, 1563, was sent to the Commons, where several

The
Statute
of 1563.



THE RICH MAN AND THE POOR MAN.

(S. Bateman, "Chrystol Glass of Christian Reformation," 1569.)

amendments and two provisos were added, and the amended Bill was read a third time in the Lords on 6th April, 1563. The Bill went through all its stages in both Houses in less than a month. Thus were enacted important changes in the law as we left it at the end of Mary's reign (p. 365), and from their character it is evident that the difficulties there noted had become more acute. The time for the election of the collectors was altered from Christmas to Midsummer, and mayors, bailiffs, vicars, curates, and other officers mentioned failing to do their duty in electing them, were to forfeit forty shillings, to be levied by distress. The penalty for refusing the office was raised to the large amount of £10, to be levied by distress or

¹ 5 Elizabeth, c. 3.

by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information to be brought by the churchwardens in any court of record. Churchwardens neglecting to sue for such forfeitures were to be fined £20. Imprisonment was substituted for the bishop's censure in the case of defaulting collectors, and contributions for the relief of the poor were now made compulsory. Those refusing to give, and discouraging others from doing so, were, after due exhortation by the parson and then by the bishop, to be bound in the sum of £10 to appear before the Justices, who were to commit them to prison if they continued obdurate. The gentleness of this punishment, and the extremely roundabout way in which it reached the offender, contrasted with the swift retribution which overtook faulty administrators of the Act, show how unwilling the Government was to adopt a compulsory rate.

The
Tramp
Nuisance.

The next eight years were a time of great anxiety both at home and abroad, and instead of diminishing, the number of poor and vagabonds increased in an alarming manner. A Bill for the punishment of the latter was read a first time in the Commons on 4th December, 1566. On the 30th of the same month there is an interesting note to the effect that "The almes given this day for relief of the Poor amounted to the sum of nineteen pounds ten shillings, to be paid by Mr. Henry Knolles, senior, and Mr. Grimston, two members of the said House."¹ In 1569 the Privy Council ordered a "search" for vagabonds, "as the Queen and her Council had a jealousy of certain that went about in the North and in other parts of the nation." The search, which took place on the same day in various parts of the country, resulted in the apprehension of no less than 13,000 "masterless men." The City of London also adopted elaborate measures for discovering and repressing vagabonds.² For two or three years after the Northern rebellion a scarcity was feared, and many persons, not only in the Northern counties but in other districts, were in great want. "I have travelyd," wrote Sir Thomas Gargrave to the Earl of Sussex (6th September, 1571), "this iij wekes and more, daly, excepte Sundays. . . . I have not herd the complaynt so generall of povertye as yt nowe ys."³ The Government was fully alive to the necessity

¹ D'Ewes' *Journals*, p. 135.

² For an account of these measures, *vide* Ribton Turner's *History of Vagrants and Vagrancy*, pp. 102, 399.

³ Cartwright's *Chapters of Yorkshire History*, p. 57.

of further legislation. The subject of poor relief had already engaged the attention of the Privy Council. The Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London had prepared a memorial of instructions, and Sir James Crofts had been appointed to consult with them as to the measures to be adopted and the persons whose advice should be asked.¹ When a Bill against vaga-



THE UPRIGHT MAN AND THE COUNTERFEIT CRANK.

(From the "Groundworke of Conny-catching.")

bonds and for the relief of the poor was brought into the Commons (13th April, 1571) the interest in it was so great that there was an animated debate on the first reading, "which is not commonly used, until after the second reading."² One

The
Bill
of 1571.

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council* (1591-97), pp. 72, 73.

² *D'Ewes' Journals*, p. 165.

member, "standing much on the care which is to be had for the poor," urged that the Bill before the House was "over sharp and bloody," and that it was possible, "with some travail had by the Justices, to relieve every man at his own house and to stay them from wandering," justifying his opinion by an appeal to Worcestershire experience. Cecil said he would have a Bridewell in every town, "and every tipler in the county to yield twelpence yearly to the maintenance thereof." Wilson, the author of a well-known treatise on usury, argued that "poor of necessity we must have, for so Christ hath said, until His latter coming." He then described his experience through

the greatest part of Christendom, concluding "that such looseness and lewdness was nowhere as here. . . . It was no charity to give to such a one as we know not, being a stranger unto us." This Bill passed the Commons, but was rejected or allowed to drop in the Lords.

Another Bill, which afterwards became law, was read a first time in the Lords on 12th May, 1572, reached its third reading five days later, and was sent to the Commons



THE IMPOSTOR EXPOSED.

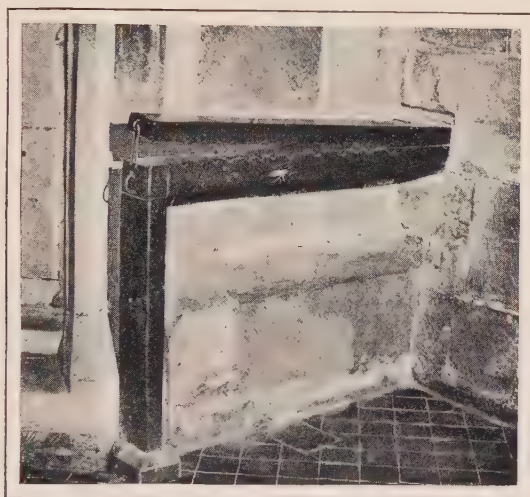
(R. Greene, "Groundworke of Conny-catching.")

The
Statute
of 1572.

on the 19th. Then difficulties began. On 24th May it was found necessary to have a conference with the Lords on the Commons' amendments, but the Lords clung to their own views. For one thing they strongly objected to the inclusion of "fencers, beaerwardes, common players in interludes, and minstrels"—all hateful to Puritan commoners—in the definition of vagabonds and idle rogues. On 30th May the Commons resolved "that the words *Minstrells, Bearwardes, Pedlers*, etc., shall not be put out of the Bill, but stand still in the same, qualified by licenses of the Justices of the Peace in such sort as upon the Committee hath been considered and agreed upon, with this condition also—that if the Lords shall not agree to that qualification, then this House will not be so bound by the said resolution,

but that they may alter and change the same at their will and pleasure, if they shall so think good.”¹ The Commons, however, had their way, and the Bill became law.²

This second Poor Law of Elizabeth was by far the most elaborate that had been passed since first the subject attracted the attention of the Government. It is noticeable also that severe measures were once more to be tried for the repression of vagabonds. They were to be “grievously whipped,” and burnt through the gristle of the right ear, unless they can find



FINGER PILLORY, ST. HELEN'S CHURCH, ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCHE.

some one who will, under penalty of £5, keep them in service for a year. In case of a relapse into vagabondism within sixty days after punishment, the penalty was the death of a felon unless some honest person having £10 in goods or forty shillings in lands, or some householder approved by the Justices, would take the offender into his service for two years, entering into bond of £10; from which we may infer that the life of a vagabond at this time was considered equal in value to a labourer's services for two years. It is interesting to notice

¹ D'Ewes' *Journals*, p. 220.

² 14 Elizabeth, c. 5. Supplemented by 18 Elizabeth, c. 3. Both Acts continued by 29 Elizabeth, c. 5; 31 Elizabeth, c. 10; and 35 Elizabeth, c. 7.

Vaga-
bondage.

what classes of people the Government proposed to treat in this fashion. The complaint that the Bill of 1571, which was certainly more severe than the Act of 1572, was "over sharp and bloody" was well justified. The term vagabond, according to the definition in the Act, included the following :—(1) Those who were, or pretended to be, proctors, going about the country without sufficient authority from the Queen; (2) those who practised unlawful games or plays, physiognomists, palmists, etc.; (3) able-bodied persons having no land or master, practising no trade or craft, and unable to account for the way in which they earned their living; (4) fencers, bearwards common players in interludes, and minstrels not belonging to any lord, jugglers, pedlars, tinkers, petty chapmen wandering about without license from the justices; (5) able-bodied labourers, loitering and refusing to work at "*suche reasonable wages as is taxed and commonly given in suche partes where suche persons do or shall happen to dwell*"; (6) counterfeiterers of licenses, passports, and all users of the same knowing them to be counterfeit; (7) scholars of the universities begging without license from the university authorities; (8) shipmen pretending losses by sea, other than such as are provided for in the Act; (9) discharged prisoners begging without license from two justices.

The
Poor Law
and the
Statute of
Appren-
ticeship.

The inclusion in the above list of able-bodied labourers who would not work for "reasonable" wages throws much light on the objects of the Statute of Apprenticeship. The "reasonable wages taxed and commonly given" were the rates fixed, or supposed to be fixed, by justices of the peace, as authorised by that Act. Thus a powerful weapon was put into the hands of the justices to coerce obstinate labourers, if they used their powers. The "reasonable wages" were not what modern artisans mean by a "living wage," but the rates which appeared reasonable and proper to the labourer's station in life in the eyes of the magistrates. In order to fully understand how this second Poor Law affected the working classes, it would be necessary to discuss in detail the administration of the wages clauses of the Statute of Apprenticeship. This, however, is impossible in this place; and it must suffice to point out that, so far as the evidence goes, the justices did not perform their duties with the regularity and efficiency

which was required.¹ It was not only in the clauses directly bearing on the regulation of wages that the Poor Law supplemented the Statute of Apprenticeship. The Act of 1572 provided for the removal from their parents of the children of vagabonds, and for apprenticing them in agriculture, husbandry, or ordinary service. In such cases both the children and their masters or mistresses were bound by the provisions of the Statute of Apprenticeship. Fifty years ago it was more common than it is now for people to declaim about the "rights of the poor" to employment and relief secured to them during the reign of Elizabeth. But nothing could be farther from the intentions of the statesmen of this period. They adopted the principle of compulsory maintenance for the poor very unwillingly, very slowly, and only after many unsuccessful attempts to do without it; to get rid of an abuse which threatened to grow into a social danger, not to satisfy the demands of justice or right. In the same way the schemes for setting the poor to work were based upon the principle—not that the "idle" person, whatever the cause of his idleness, had a right to be provided with employment, but that severe pains and penalties were his proper deserts. It was, however, better to utilise his services, and make him profitable to the State by setting him to work, than to whip him, maim him, or kill him outright.

The provisions in the Act of 1572 for the relief of the poor were carefully thought out. The compulsion to be brought to bear on persons objecting to give was made more of a reality. A weekly charge was to be levied on the inhabitants; and it was no longer left to them to say how much it should be. If, however, they objected to their assessment, they had the right of appeal to the Quarter Sessions as a remedy. But refusal to pay in accordance with the justice's award was to be punished with imprisonment. Collectors and overseers were to be appointed annually. The penalty for refusal of the former office was reduced to the sum thought sufficient in Mary's reign, viz. 40s.; refusal of the office of overseer meant a

Poor
Relief.

¹ The author has discussed the administration of the Statute of Apprenticeship at length in his *English Trade and Finance* (1892) and in the *Economic Journal* (December, 1892, pp. 696-698). There are, however, several more wages assessments in existence than are there mentioned.

The Act
of 1576.

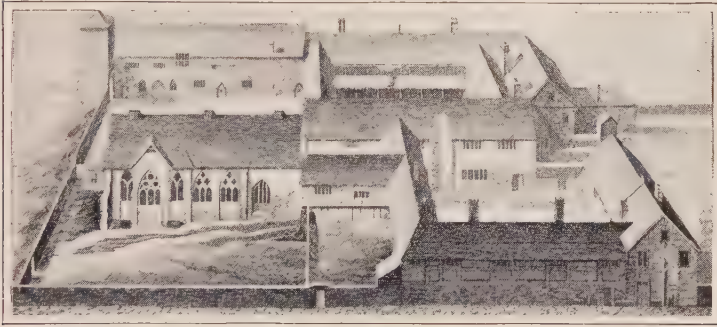
forfeiture of 10s. Habitations were to be provided for the impotent and aged poor; a register to be kept, and a monthly inquiry to be held, when strangers were to be sent back to the place of their birth, or where they had dwelt for three years. The statute was enacted for seven years, and from that time to the end of the next Parliament. But long before then, viz. in 1576, it was supplemented by another Act, "for the setting of the poor on worke, and for the avoyding of idleness." The mother and the reputed father of an illegitimate child were to be charged with its support; and as the "heavy charge for conveying rogues and vagabonds to prison" caused them "to be winked at," the Act threw the expense on the several hundreds through which the offender was conveyed. The provisions for "setting the poor on work" were certain, in so far as they were successful, to manufacture more paupers than were relieved. The collectors were placed in the position of the factor or middleman in what is known as the domestic system. They were, out of a rate to be levied for that purpose, and the voluntary subscriptions of those who saw the great benefit to be derived from putting this law in execution, to provide a stock of raw material: wool, hemp, flax, and so on. This stock they were to distribute amongst the poor, who would work it up in their homes. For the result of their labours, the collectors were to pay "according to the desert of the work," and then sell it in the market for such goods, just as any other middleman would do. If the poor refused this mode of assistance, the Act provided the collectors with a stern answer, in the shape of the houses of correction now established. Here, "in convenient apparel," and "kept in diet as in work," punishment was to be administered at the discretion of the overseer of the house.

A House
of Correc-
tion.

An interesting document¹ has been preserved showing the organisation of a house of correction at this period, in conformity with the law we have just discussed. The justices of Suffolk drew up elaborate orders for the management of the house at Bury. They appointed a "forren officer" in every hundred to search for vagabonds, and, with the aid of the constable, to arrest them. The vagabonds, after their reception

¹ Printed in Eden's *State of the Poor*, vol. iii., appendix vii. Copious extracts are also given in Ribton Turner's *Vagrants and Vagrancy*, pp. 116-393.

at the house, were to be whipped and put in irons, and then set to work. The whip used was to consist of two cords, without knots. More severe treatment was reserved for the stubborn. The justices appear to have considered every detail of the management of the House; the diet of the inmates, the duties of the officers are defined with precision. With these orders may be compared those of Christ's Hospital, Ipswich, where similar regulations were put in force in 1594.¹ During the same period, also, there are many instances of loans, gifts of money and material, etc., for setting the poor to work; and on the whole there appears to have been a fair number of attempts to give effect to the law. The ecclesiastical authorities



CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, IPSWICH.

(From a print of 1748.)

were not behindhand in inculcating the duty of the wealthy to contribute liberally for the relief of the poor, and even to "forbear to have suppers on Wednesdays, Fridays, and fasting-days" with this object.²

We come now to the last Parliament but one of Queen Elizabeth, in which, for all practical purposes, the principal provisions of the "Old Poor Law" were finally determined. The Session of 1597-98 was largely devoted to social legislation. It commenced (5th of November, 1597) with Bacon's motion³

The "Old
Poor Law"
Achieved

¹ Bacon's *Annals of Ipswich*, p. 379.

² *Vide* Archbishop Whitgift's circular-letter to the Bishops. [Tanner MSS., lxxvii. 69.]

³ The only business before this motion was the first reading of a Bill against Forestallors, Regraters, and Engrossers.

against enclosures, when he brought in two Bills, "not drawn with a polished pen, but with a polished heart, free from affection and affectation." A committee of the House was appointed to consider the matter. The House was then invited to inquire into "the sundry great and horrible abuses of idle and vagrant persons, and the miserable state of the godly and honest sort of the poor subjects of this realm." This matter also was referred to Bacon's committee. But six days later Sir Francis Hastings complained that they had so far spent all their labour on enclosures and tillage, and had devoted no attention to the punishment of rogues and relief of the poor, and moved for leave to bring in two or three Bills on the subject which had been prepared by different members of the House. It would be tedious to describe in detail the work of this important session of Parliament, and to follow the history of the numerous Bills dealing with the poor which were brought in. By the 22nd of November one committee, consisting of Cecil, Bacon, Sir Robert Wroth, and others, which had been appointed on the 19th, had no less than eleven Bills on this subject referred to it. It must be remembered that many other Bills on social and economic subjects, as well as private Bills dealing with hospitals and the reclamation of waste lands, were being considered in the same session, and some idea will be obtained of the labours of this Elizabethan Parliament. The committee on the various Bills for the relief of the poor used to meet in the Middle Temple Hall. Out of the numerous Bills now before the House we shall select two, one of them a Bill "for the relief of the poor," the other a Bill for "erecting houses of correction."

After reaching its second reading, the former Bill was entirely remodelled, and in the new form passed the Commons on 13th of December, 1597. In the Lords it was amended, carried over the adjournment (26th December–11th January), when the Lords' amendments and provisos were considered by the Commons, and finally became law.¹ The progress of the Bill for houses of correction was more difficult, for both houses were keenly interested in the subject. Amendments accumulated as the Bill went through the Commons. It passed that House on 5th of December, but the Lords did not intend to let

¹ 39 Elizabeth, c. 3.

it through without discussion. The committee to which it was referred (8th December) was authorised "to call such of the House of Commons unto them at their meeting as they should find cause to confer withal for the better perfecting of the Bill." It reached its third reading on the day of the adjournment (20th December). When the Commons came to



HALL OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.

(From an old engraving)

consider the Lords' amendments and provisos, strong objections were urged against them, and they were referred to a committee consisting of Raleigh, Cecil, Bacon, and others (12th January). On the following day Raleigh moved for a conference with the Lords. Repairing to the Upper House to ask for it, he, and the members who accompanied him, were

made very indignant at the reception the Lords gave them—"not using any of their Lordships' former and wonted courteous manner of coming down towards the said members of this House to the Bar, but all of them sitting still in their great estates very solemnly, and all covered, the Lord Keeper sitting also still in like manner covered." This supposed affront was explained to the satisfaction of the offended Commons, but the incident did not dispose them to conciliation. The tension between the two Houses was also increased by the disrespectful manner in which the Lords received the Commons' complaint, that they had sent down their amendments engrossed on parchment instead of being written on paper. The result of the conference was unsatisfactory, and we are not surprised to find that (17th January, 1598) "The Amendments and Provisos . . . being read for the third reading thereof, the Bill being put to the question, and after sundry speeches and arguments first had, both with the Bill and against the Bill, was dashed upon the division of the House." The numbers were—66 for the Bill, and 106 against. The subject was not allowed to drop. The Lords carried a Bill of their own "for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars." It was tossed about between the two Houses for three weeks, but finally became law.¹

Elizabeth's
Third
Poor Law.

These two Acts of Parliament constituted Elizabeth's third poor law. The latter, for the punishment of vagabonds, was very much milder than previous Acts, and there can be no doubt that it owed this characteristic to the Lords, who throughout the reign appear to have regarded the unhappy vagabonds more leniently than the Commons. The Act for the relief of the poor provided for the annual appointment in Easter week of churchwardens and overseers. We have also in this Act the other familiar features of the "Old Poor Law." We find there the principles of relief from a fund raised by a compulsory rate, leviable by distress; employment by the provision of a stock of hemp, wool, etc.; apprenticeship for the children of paupers; the rate in aid of poorer parishes; and the appeal to the Quarter Sessions. It was also provided that parents or children must maintain their relations, and that special rates should be levied for the prisoners in

¹ 39 Elizabeth, c. 4. Continued, revived, and explained, 1 Jas. I., cc. 7, 25.

the Queen's Bench and the Marshalsea, and for hospitals and almshouses.

This Act was to endure to the end of the next Parliament. The last Parliament of Elizabeth, therefore, was bound to reconsider the question of the relief of the poor. On November 5th, 1601, Sir Robert Wroth drew attention to the subject, but nothing further was done until almost the end of the Session. A Bill for the relief of the poor, the famous "Old Poor Law,"¹ was then hurried through both Houses in a little more than a week. The law complementary to this, for the punishment of vagabonds and erection of houses of correction, which had been enacted until the end of the first session of the Parliament of 1601, was allowed to lapse. But it was revived explained, and amended in the first year of James I. If it be asked why so important a measure aroused so little attention in 1601, it may be answered that Parliament considered the existing law satisfactory. Cecil only expressed the prevailing opinion when, in reply to a motion that "no private Bill may pass this House, but the procurers to give something to the poor," he said "Our ordinary begging-poor are provided for."²

Elizabeth's
Fourth
and last
Poor Law.

THE great disturber of the public health in the Elizabethan period was plague. How great a disturber it was will appear from the vital statistics of London, which are accurately known for a series of five years—1578–82. Over the whole period the burials were thirty-three per cent. more than the christenings; or, one-third more lives were lost in a year than were added to the population from within. The excess of deaths was wholly owing to plague. In one of the five years (1580) the plague was all but dormant, and in every month of that year, except July (when one of the few influenzas of the sixteenth century was raging, called the Gentle Correction), the baptisms were well ahead of the burials, the excess for the whole year being nearly twenty-five per cent. The inference appears warranted that, barring plague, the public health of Elizabethan London was good. We look in vain in the vital statistics of later periods (if they can be trusted), down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, for any year with the baptisms in London one-fourth

CHARLES
CREIGHTON
Public
Health.

¹ 43 Elizabeth, c. 2.

² Townshend's *Historical Collections*, p. 280.

more than the burials, although that is an excess which is reached in any year at present, and is surpassed in most. It is probable that there were two periods of eight or nine years each in the latter half of the reign of Elizabeth (the years 1583-92 and 1594-1602) when the absence of plague, or the slightness of its prevalence, enabled the births to exceed the deaths, perhaps in the same ratio as in 1580. But the excess in a series of years of immunity from plague was more than swallowed up by the great plague of a single season. Thus, in 1563, from June to the end of the year, there died of plague in the 108 parishes of the City and Liberties 17,404 persons, and in the 11 out-parishes 2,732, making a total of 20,136 deaths by plague, the deaths from all other causes (doubtless including some others really from plague) having been 3,524. The other great plague of the reign was in 1593, when the total deaths by that cause were 15,003, the deaths from other causes having been 10,883, of which probably one-half were also really from plague. Twice in the Elizabethan period the capital lost from a sixth to a fifth part of its population by a great plague, and in each of several other years of the reign its mortality by ordinary causes was more than doubled by plague. Other towns that had a great epidemic of plague in this reign were Norwich, Yarmouth, Rye, Bristol, Plymouth, Totnes, and Tiverton, while the infection was very severe in the northern counties about 1596-97, in a time of dearth.

The Slums
under
Elizabeth.

The great plague-mortalities extended to all parts of London, and would probably have included a due proportion of all classes had not the rich sought safety in flight when the infection began to wax hot in summer and autumn. But the better parts of London suffered only from their neighbourhood to the rest. In all the great plagues, so far as is known, from that of 1563 onwards, the infection began in the poor and crowded skirts of the City, in the ring of parishes outside the walls. A medical writer of the year 1564 says that twice in his memory the plague had begun in St. Sepulchre's parish (he writes it St. Poulkar's, and would have spoken it Se'Poulkar's), the parish outside Newgate, "by reason of many fruiterers, poor people, and stinking lanes, as Turnagain Lane [which ran down the slope to Fleet Ditch and ended at its

the country roads and adjoining open spaces becoming "pestered," as John Stow says, "with filthy cottages, and with other purprestures, enclosures, and laystalls, notwithstanding all proclamations and Acts of Parliament made to the contrary, that in some places there scarce remaineth a sufficient highway for the meeting of carriages and droves of cattle."

The proclamation of 1580 was really a confession on the part of the City of its inability to govern beyond a certain limit. While it did nothing to check the growth of London, it allowed some three-fourths of the capital to grow up beyond the pale of sanitation.

**Sanitation
in Towns.**

It would be a mistake to infer from the unwholesome state of the crowded ring of parishes outside the walls that there was no sanitary knowledge or practice. Apart from measures of the nature of quarantine for plague (referred to in a former section), much was done in the way of radical sanitation. The danger of nuisances was never unperceived. At first the remedy was "at his suit that will complain," or by raising an action; but in the Tudor period certain persons were elected from among the citizens to represent all the rest as "scavengers." Hooker, of Exeter, says that the scavengers "are necessary officers who cannot be wanting in any well-governed city or town, because by them and their service all things noisome to the health of man and hurtful to the state of the body of the commonwealth, are advertised unto the magistrate, and so they be the means of the redress thereof. And therefore they be called scavengers, as who saith shewers or advertisers, for so the word soundeth." They were, in short, inspectors of nuisances. An election to the office at Ipswich is recorded as early as 1540, on which occasion also four places outside the town were appointed for depositing the refuse or soil upon. Stow, in his "Survey of London," gives the number of scavengers in each ward of the City, along with the number of aldermen and councillors. At Exeter it was part of their duty to attend the mayor to church on Sunday. The scavengers of Exeter had also "their service" under them, who may have been employed in the actual work of nuisance-removal for the common good; but it is probable that the responsibility still rested ordinarily with the individual householder, except in times of plague, when the magistracy appear to have undertaken certain elementary duties of

municipal police, such as cleansing the streets every other day.

In smaller towns, or in villages, the old usages of the Manor Court remained for long a system of local sanitary government. The following is an example from the Manor Court of Castle Combe, in Wiltshire, in 1590:

Rural
Sanita-
tion.

"That the inhabitants of the West Streete doe remove the donge or fylth at John Davis house ende before the feaste of Seynt Andrew th' apostell next, and that they lay no more there within a foote of the wey, sub poena iiis iiid.

"And that none shall lay any duste or any other fylth in the wey or pitte belowe Cristopher Besas house, sub poena pro quolibet tempore xiid.

"And that none shall soyle in the church yerde nor in any of our streetes, for every defaulte to lose xiid.

"And that the glover shall not wash any skynes, nor cast any other fylth or soyle in the water runnyng by his house, sub poena xs."

It is said that the same traditional authority of the Manor Court for the prevention of nuisances was found in existence in certain parishes of England at the time when the first Local Government Act came into force, about forty years ago.

Apart from plague, the cause of which seemed to lie deeper than all the sanitation of the time could reach, there were other medical experiences of the reign which show how elementary was the knowledge of the sixteenth century in all that related to the provocation of disease. Hooker, who records the duties of the nuisance inspectors of Exeter, is also the authority for a remarkable incident at the assizes in that city in March, 1586. Sir Bernard Drake had taken on the high seas a Portuguese vessel laden with stock-fish from Newfoundland, and brought his prize into Dartmouth. The men, to the number of thirty-eight, were thrown into "the deep pit and stinking dungeon" of Exeter Castle. Their clothing and persons were filthy after a season at the cod fishery, and they appear to have been left uncared for until the time of the gaol delivery. Some of them died, others grew distracted. Infection spread from them to the other prisoners, of whom many died. When the day of trial came, the Portugals were so weak and ill that they had to be carried into court. Their starved condition moved the compassion of those who saw them, and most of all of the

Medical
Incidents.

presiding judge, Chief Justice Sir Edmund Anderson, "who upon this occasion took a better order for keeping all prisoners thenceforth in the gaol; and for the more often trials"—namely, once a quarter. The need for some reform was strongly enforced by what followed. Some fourteen days after the trial, symptoms of malignant typhus fever began to appear in many who had been at the assizes. Constables, reeves, tithing-men, jurors (eleven out of one jury of twelve), and many of the commons of Exeter, died of it, as well as one of the judges and a number of the gentry of Devon:—two Careys, a Waldron, Basset, Fortescue, Chichester, Risdon, and Bernard Drake himself within a few days of reaching his home at Crediton. An exactly parallel case had happened at Oxford nine years before. The Queen's Bench Prison in Southwark was always crowded, and was never free from the "sickness of the house," by which a hundred had died in six years. The records of coroners' inquests at Newgate show that many deaths occurred among prisoners from "the pining sickness," and some from "pestilent fever," or bloody flux. It is not until the prosperous reign of George II. that similar experiences of "black assizes" and gaol fever reappear in our history.

Health
on board
ship.

The life on board ship was another test of the public health. Two or three weeks after they had beaten off the Spanish Armada, the English ships were at anchor in Margate Roads, with their crews so crippled by disease that it was found impossible to bring the vessels through the Downs to Dover. Admiral Lord Howard wrote: "They sicken one day, and die the next." And in another letter: "It is a most pitiful sight to see the men die in the streets of Margate. The *Elizabeth Jonas* has lost half her crew. Of all the men brought out by Sir Richard Townsend, he has but one alive." Musty rations and want of clothes were believed to have brought on sickness in the first instance, which must have turned to infection afterwards.

Of the Armada itself, the fifty ships which escaped destruction returned to Corunna and Santander in such a state of disease that the inhabitants shut their doors against the disembarking sailors. These were probably instances of ship-fever, or dysentery, or perhaps, in the case of the Spanish

The doleful Dance, and Song of Death ; Intituled, *Dance after my Pipe.*
To a Pleasant New Tune.



CAN you dance the making of the Ghosts,
a dance that every one must do ?
Can you trim it up with dainty strews,
and thereby thing as long as thereto ?
Make ready then your winding sheet,
And see how you can belic your feet,
For death is the man that all must meet.

For when the Weaver and the King,
and every man in it be here,
They shall be and you shall thing
come all to death and follow me.

The Countier with his lilly looks,
The Lawyer with his learned books,
The Banker with his halting-hocks.

Ye chents have you made : out of it in
in Italy and all about ? (France)

Hast you not that you and I must die,
both our selves wraught in a clout ?

What mean you to make our house gay,
And I must tak the Tenant away,
And dig for your takes the clods of clay.

Think you on the solemn Sices past,
how suddenly in Oxfordshire,
I came and made the Judges all agast,
and Juries that did appear.

And took both Bell and Baram away,
And many a wotly man this day,
And all thir bodies brought to clay.

Think you that I dare not come to Schoole,
where all the cunning Clerks be most ?

Take I not always both wise and fools,
and put I not in every Coole ?

Assure your selves no creature can,
Make death affraid of any man,
We know my coming where or when.
where be they that make their Leases strong
and joyne about thim land to land,
Do you make account to live so long,
to have the world come to your hand :
No foolish nole, for all the pence,
Fall soon thy soul must needs go hence,
Then who shall soy for thy defence,
And you that lean on your Ladies laps,
and lay your heads upon thir knes,
Think you for to play with beantious paps,
and not to come and dance with me :

No, fair Boyes and Ladies all,
I will make you come when I do call
And bid you a Pipe to dance withal.

And you that are buke-headed fools,
to bubble of a pelting straw,
Know you not that I have ready tools,
to cut you from your crafty Law :
And you that safely buy and sell,
And thim you make your Markets well,
Must dance with death wheresoe'er you dwell

Will you must have a pretty sheet. I see,
for properly he loves to dance.
Come away my wintan Wench to me,
as gallantly as your eye can glance :
And all good fellows that dash and twat,
In reds and yellows of reul dath,
I warrant you need not be to rash.

For I can quickly cool you all,
how hot or hot to ere you be,
Both high and low, both great and small,
I thought do fear your high degree.

The Ladies fair, the Weldaing old,
The Chymphen stout, the Souldier bold,
Must all with me to certly mold.

Therefore take time wh le it is lent,
prepare with me your selves to dance,
Forget me not, your lives lament,
I come oftentimes by sudden chance.

Be ready therefore, watch and pray,
That when my spiritual pipe doth play,
You may to Heav'n dance the way.

FINIS.

BROADSHEET REFERRING TO THE MORTALITY AT OXFORD IN 1577.

(Roxburghe Ballads.)

ships, of true plague. A more ordinary incident—an incident almost inseparable from a voyage that lasted three months or longer—was scurvy. Sir Richard Hawkins believed that he knew of ten thousand men lost by it during the twenty years that he had used the sea: "It is the plague of the sea, and the spoil of mariners." In Lancaster's first voyage for the East India Company in 1601, he kept the crew of his flagship in comparatively good health, until he could land them at the Cape, by serving out lime-juice so long as his small stock of it lasted. The other ships, after a three months' voyage, had their crews so reduced or crippled by scurvy, that they were scarcely able to let fall an anchor or hoist out their boats. An incident told of a coasting cruiser, in a letter from one of her company which Purchas saw a few years after, is as follows: a drumbler, of Ipswich, called the *Amitie*, was employed in the Queen's service for two years (about 1600) on the north coast of Ireland, during which time she is said to have lost by scurvy thirty-two of her original crew of forty men, notwithstanding their facilities for getting "fresh victuals and many other helps."

One other aspect of the public health deserves a brief notice. The two endowed hospitals of London were St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's, both of them ancient ecclesiastical foundations which had been preserved to the sick poor at the dissolution of the monasteries. William Clowes, surgeon to the former, makes, in a book of the year 1579, a revelation as to the class of patients who occupied the hospitals at that time which cannot but excite surprise. Three out of four, it appears, were admitted as in-patients for the French pox: "I speake nothing of St. Thomas Hospital, and other houses about this citey, where an infinite multitude are dayly in cure. . . . It hapneth in the house of Saint Bartholomew very seldome but that among every twentye diseased persons that are taken in, fiftene of them have" this malady. Along with three other surgeons of the hospital, he had cured one thousand and more such patients in five years. For this deplorable state of things he blames the great number of rogues and vagabonds and the numerous lewd ale-houses, "which are the very nests and harbourers of such filthy creatures."

M. BATESON.
Social
Life.

The
Theatre.

THE Queen showed her sense of the power of the drama to guide public feeling when in the first year of her reign she issued a proclamation against the performance of all plays and interludes for a time. A second proclamation required the licence of the mayor for performances in towns, and of the lord-lieutenant and two justices of the peace for performances in the country. Furthermore, players were forbidden to touch questions of religion and government. Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, at once applied for a licence for his private company of players. As yet the boys of the Royal chapels, or of the great city schools, the young lawyers of the Inns of Court, undergraduates at the universities, and the retainers of courtiers were the only actors of the new comedies and tragedies written on the classical model which were beginning to be fashionable at court.¹ The common people attended the Mystery and Morality Plays at religious festivals, and heard there many allusions to current theological controversy; they also went to see the Chronicle Histories, in which historical personages were introduced instead of the allegorical abstractions and virtues and vices as of yore; and at the beginning of the reign they crowded to see the new "interludes," such as Heywood was writing, in which fictitious characters, drawn to resemble real life, were for the first time introduced. The moral interlude had become farcical, but as yet the populace had no tragedies or comedies, and for the first fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign the drama as we understand it was an amusement peculiar to royalty. The Queen's Yeoman of the Revels kept an "acting-box," which had to serve the whole country; its masks, dresses, and properties were hired to the schools, the Inns of Court, the Universities, and also to country-players, who are reported to have damaged them, "by reason of the press of the people, and foulness both of the way and soil of the wearers, who for the most part be of the meanest sort of men."² But ere long the noblemen, the schools, and the Queen's players found that money was to be made by public performances, and to this end stages were erected in inn-yards, and the audience viewed the performance from the

¹ Fleay, "Chronicle History of the London Stage," p. 10.

² J. P. Collier, "English Dramatic Poetry," i. 191.

inn-galleries. In London the Bell in Gracious (now Gracechurch) Street, the Bull in Bishopsgate Street, and the Belle Sauvage on Ludgate Hill were the most famous.

The City authorities were very jealous of their powers in licensing plays, as it was thought that crowded assemblies helped to spread the plague. Harrison, in his "Chronology," 1572, writes that "for this reason plays are banished for a time out of London." He adds, "Would to God these common plays were exiled altogether as seminaries of impiety, and their theatres pulled down as no better than houses of

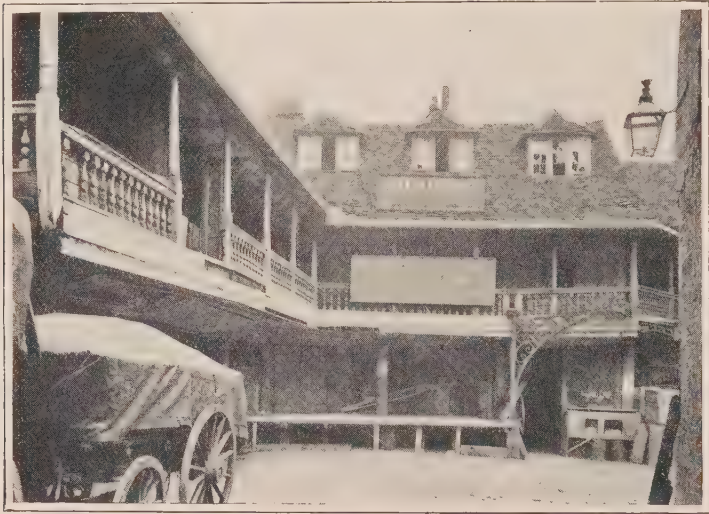


Photo: York & Sons, Notting Hill.

THE TABARD INN, SOUTHWARK.

baudry." In 1574, however, the Queen exercised her authority to permit Leicester's company to act within the City of London, "except in time of common prayer or of common plague." Next year the Common Council complained of the "inordinate haunting of great multitudes of people, especially youth, to plays, interludes, and shows," of gross conduct "in inns having chambers and secret places adjoining to their open stages and galleries," of the "waste of money by poor and fond persons, of pick-purses, and of the spread of sedition," and forbade all plays, except those played in private houses for marriages and festivities.

In response to an appeal from the players, the Lord Mayor conceded them permission to play when the death-rate was less than fifty per week. To avoid such stringent regulations, the players determined to build a house suitable for dramatic performances outside the limits of the City, in the Liberty of Holywell, out in the fields of Shoreditch, the favourite practising ground of archers.

In Harrison's "Chronology," under the date 1572, he speaks of "theatres," and says, "it is an evident token of a wicked time when players wax so rich that they can build such houses." The word "theatre" may here mean not a house adapted for dramatic performances, but a stage, or "pageant house," as it was called, which, when used for Morality Plays, was sometimes three storeys high, and very elaborate. If the word be used in the modern sense, and if Harrison wrote the passage in 1572, it is the first mention of such houses. In Lambard's "Perambulation of Kent," 1576, we read :

"Those who go to Paris Garden, the Bell Savage, and the Theatre to behold bear-baiting, interludes, or fence-play must not account of any pleasant spectacle unless first they pay one penny at the gate, a second at the entry of the scaffold, and a third for quiet sitting."

This is the first mention of the house called the "Theatre," in Holywell Lane, Shoreditch, which was the first built in London. About this time also the "Curtain" in Moorfields, Shoreditch, was built. Both houses were quite in the country, and surrounded by fields. The name "curtain" had belonged of old to the land on which the theatre of that name was built; a Curtain Row existed as late as 1745; it is now Gloucester Street. As Sunday was at first the only day on which players were licensed to perform, it was noted in 1578 that the Theatre and Curtain were as full as they could throng, and ministers were disturbed at service by the noise of the drum which summoned the audience. In 1583 a company of Queen's players, which was managed by Leicester's two chief actors, Burbage and Laneham, played in the Theatre, and acquired a special right to the title "Queen's Players," which had hitherto belonged to all who performed before the Queen.

Throughout the reign the drama was encouraged at the Universities, and performances were given of plays in English

The
Drama at
the Uni-
versities.

and Latin, by modern and ancient writers, at Oxford and Cambridge, where the *Aulularia* of Plautus was played in King's College Chapel on a Sunday afternoon,¹ in honour of Her Majesty's visit. Harrington says, the wiser but not the "presyser" sort at Cambridge thought there might be much good in well-penned comedies, and especially tragedies. In 1587 Marlowe and Greene left Cambridge for London, and created a new spirit in the drama. Plays had no "long runs" in those days, and the rivalry of the stages in seeking out new plays by educated playwrights was keen. This rivalry led to an increase in the number of theatres, and by 1592 the "Rose" had been built in Bankside, Southwark. There in that year Shakespeare acted as a member of Lord Strange's company, managed by Henslow. In 1594 the Earl of Sussex's company performed *Titus Andronicus*, a piece whose revolting story was well adapted to the prevalent taste for horrors. In 1594 he played before the Queen at Greenwich, and in his *Comedy of Errors* at Gray's Inn. It has been estimated that out of twenty-eight plays acted before the Queen by the Lord Chamberlains company, twenty were Shakespeare's.² A contemporary writer says that between March and July, 1592, ten thousand people saw the First Part of *Henry VI.*; and whether this be an exaggeration or not, it is evident that the need of more theatres was felt, for, in 1596, Burbage, Shakespeare's fellow-actor, bought a large house in Blackfriars, which he converted into a private theatre, and before the end of the century two important new theatres were built in Bankside. The district chosen was one of extreme squalor, known as the Clink or Bishop of Winchester's Liberty, and of evil reputation; but as the new "Globe" and "Fortune" were visited by boat, the inconveniences of access were not so great as to the Theatre and Curtain in remote Shoreditch. The new theatres did not follow the classical model described by Vitruvius, as the contemporary Italian theatres did, but, like the old Theatre and Curtain, they followed a plan which is generally believed to be an imitation of the arrangement of an inn-courtyard, where the stagings about the house formed ready-made balconies, galleries, and boxes (p. 714). The floor was filled with the poorest part of the audience, the "groundlings" or "pit,"

London
Theatres.

The
Structure
of the
Theatre.

¹ Nichols, "Progresses," i. 166.

² Fleay, "Life of Shakespeare," p. 47.

1603]

who had to stand pressed up against the stage, which was raised on a small scaffold.

From contemporary pictures¹ it can be seen that the Globe was not fully roofed in; the audience alone were under the thatched roof; yet there were plays even in winter time, for a performance in February is recorded. It was built 1598-9 by the actor Burbage, who had been a carpenter, out of the materials of the Theatre, which was pulled down. It stood close to the bear-garden, and had as its sign Atlas supporting the globe. It was octagonal, and built of wood, lath, and plaster. The Fortune, between Cross Street and Golding Lane, was built by Alleyn, Burbage's rival, 1599-1600, at a cost of £120. The contract is extant,² and shows it to have been a square, measuring 80 feet outside, 55 inside, three storeys in height, "with four convenient divisions for gentlemen's rooms and other sufficient divisions for twopenny rooms," with seats throughout the house. Over the stage there was to be a covering, but in all other respects it appears to have resembled the Globe.

These two playhouses, where alone performances were sanctioned in 1600, were the great social and political centres of the time. The Globe was a meeting-place for those concerned in the Essex rebellion. The Master of the Revels was dramatic censor, and an attempt was made to check the political use of the stage when in 1589 a divine and a statesman were ordered to help him. Nevertheless the Martin Marprelate tracts (p. 612) were answered from the stage, and plays were filled with political allusions, obscurely put to evade the authorities, and now difficult to understand. Every educated man made a point of reading new plays, and of larding his discourse with quotations from the plays then running. He must speak "in print," and keep a "huge long-scraped stock of well-penned plays." In the playhouses the gallants congregated, and in private theatres, such as Burbage's Blackfriars Theatre, they hired seats on the stage, where they could show off their clothes and their skill in taking tobacco to the best advantage.

The Plays
and the
Public

¹ Wilkinson, "Londina Illustrata" [from originals of 1612 and 1647].

² Halliwell-Phillipps, "Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare," 5th ed., p. 265.

“Rufus, the courtier, at the theatre,
 Leaving the best and most conspicuous place,
 Doth either to the stage himself transfer,
 Or through a grate doth show his double face :
 For that the clamorous fry of Inns of Court
 Fills up the private rooms of greater price :
 And such a place where all may have resort,
 He in his singularity doth despise.”¹

Theatrical
 Finance.

Another favourite place, the worst for seeing but the best for being seen, was the box adjoining the balcony at the back of the stage, which the actors used for plays within plays. In Elizabeth's reign prices varied from a penny to a shilling; in the next reign they rose. Twopenny rooms or boxes and the twopenny gallery are often mentioned, but sixpence seems to have been the most usual fee. The St. Paul's private theatre had no seats at less than fourpence, and its audience was more select; there

“ . . . A man shall not be choked
 With the smell of garlic, nor be pasted
 To the barmy jacket of a beer-brewer.”

In 1585 a Dutchman reported that “the players might take £10 to £12 at a time, particularly if they act anything new, when people have to pay double. They perform nearly every day in the week; notwithstanding plays are forbidden on Friday and Saturday, this prohibition is not observed.”² The average daily expenditure on a dramatic performance has been estimated at forty-five shillings; a new play was known to cost £6 13s. 4d., though a private theatre would be willing to give double that amount. The data concerning actors' salaries are not precise, but it appears that the takings were divided into shares and fractions of shares: the master-shares or proprietors of the theatre got a certain proportion of shares, others three-quarter or half shares, and the poorest actors or hirelings about 6s. a week, according to Gosson's “School of Abuse,” 1579. Malone estimated that a good actor might get £90 a year (an outside estimate).³ Sweet bully Bottom's “sixpence a day in *Pyramus* or nothing” was to be a pension

¹ Sir John Davies' Epigrams (Grosart, ii. 10).

² Rye, “England as seen by Foreigners,” p. 88.

³ “Historical Account of the English Stage,” p. 179 (ed. 1821).

for life, such as Preston got from the Queen for his acting in the play of *Dido*, at King's College, Cambridge.¹

As a rule the play began at one o'clock, and as the public playhouses were not roofed in, the performance was by daylight. The private theatres in dwelling-houses alone had evening performances. Plays were advertised by bills in the town, and the signal that the play had begun was the hoisting of a flag. All classes whiled away the intervals between the acts by eating fruit, especially apples, cracking nuts, card-playing, and smoking. Ladies attended, and, when masks came into fashion, were masked. As yet no woman acted, and it fell to "some squeaking Cleopatra" to "boy" her greatness. The floor of the stage was strewn with rushes; in front was a curtain which was drawn from the sides.

At the
Play.

The nature of scenery in the reign of Elizabeth has been much debated,² and many passages may be cited which seem to show that stage effects were very primitive, while others seem distinctly to point to the use of movable scenes. Sir Philip Sidney makes fun of the written labels used to explain what the properties were intended to represent, but he may be speaking of rustic acting only. There certainly were trap-doors in Elizabeth's reign, and in 1592 a stage direction bids Venus be let down from the top of the stage, and when she has said her speech, "if you can conveniently, let a chair come down from the top of the stage and draw her up." Shakespeare's stage directions involve the use of walls and battlements, from which actors could speak, and the minute descriptions his characters give of scenes in which they find themselves must often have been ludicrous if the objects spoken of were not represented on the stage. Undoubtedly scenery was used for the Queen's great masques and pageants, and it may reasonably be supposed that towards the end of the reign it was being used on the stage so far as there was space for it.

Scenery.

English players and their playing became famous throughout Europe; large towns in Germany and the Netherlands were visited as early as 1591, and in 1597 a company of English actors performed for seven days before the court at Stuttgart.

¹ Nichols, "Progresses," i. 181.

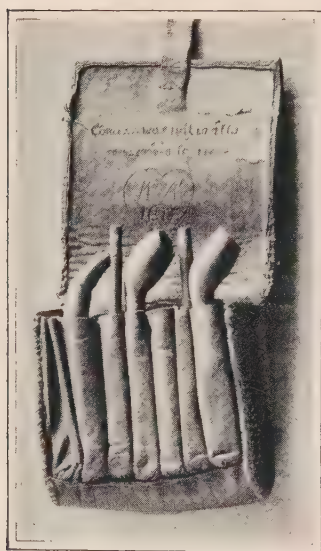
² J. P. Collier, "English Dramatic Poetry," iii. 170. Drake, "Shakespeare and his Times," ii. 212 *seq.*

Tobacco.

Allusion has already been made to smoking in theatres; by the end of the reign, smoking had become general. Sir John Hawkins is believed to have first brought tobacco to England in 1565. Stow, in his "*Annales*," gives 1577 as the date of its first introduction; but it was certainly used medicinally before that time. Under the year 1573 of his "*Chronology*," Harrison writes: "In these days, the taking-in of the smoke of the Indian herb called Tabaco by an instrument

formed like a little ladle, whereby it passeth from the mouth into the head and stomach, is greatly taken up and used in England, against rheums and some other diseases engendered in the lungs and inward parts, and not without effect." In 1587, he was complaining of its want of efficacy, due perhaps, he says, to the "repugnancy of our constitution unto the operation thereof. Spenser and Lilly write of it as a drug; Shakespeare, strange to say, never mentions it.

It was Sir Walter Raleigh's example that first made smoking fashionable in England. In 1586, three sea-captains had drawn much attention to themselves by "drinking" tobacco in the streets of London in the form of twisted



SIR W. RALEIGH'S PIPES.

(Wallace Collection, Hertford House.)

leaves or "segars." In ten years' time, to learn to "drink" or "take" tobacco was a necessary part of a gentleman's education. Lodge, in 1596, speaks of the foolish fellow who will lug you in his arms, kiss you on the cheek, and cry with an oath: "I love you, you know, my poor heart. Come to my chamber for a pipe of tobacco; there lives not a man in this world that I more honour." In 1698 Chamberlain¹ noted that certain mad knaves took tobacco on the way to be hanged at Tyburn. Raleigh, too, in the next reign, took a pipe of tobacco before

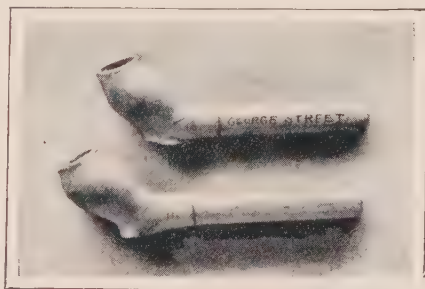
¹ Letters, Camden Society, p. 25.

he went to the scaffold, "which some formal persons were scandalised at"; but, says his biographer Aubrey, "I think it was well and properly done to settle his spirits."



SIR W. RALEIGH'S PIPE-CASE.
(Wallace Collection, Hertford House.)

it may be rubbed into powder, and, lighting it, they draw the smoke into their mouths, which they puff out again through their nostrils like funnels, along with it plenty of phlegm and defluxion from the head."¹ Soon after its introduction, tobacco sold for 3s. an ounce—at least 18s. of our money. Every fashionable smoker carried much elaborate apparatus in the form of tongs, priming-irons, and the like. Aubrey says that pipes were at first made of silver, and that the poor were content with a walnut-shell and a straw. One pipe often had to suffice for several, and was handed round the table. Some landladies hired out pipes at 3d. the pipeful. By the beginning of the seventeenth



EARLY PIPES. (Guildhall Museum).

(By permission of the Library Committee to the Corporation of the City of London.)

¹ Rye, p. 216.

century smoking began to be bitterly opposed, especially by the Puritans, and in 1602 "Work for Chimney-sweepers, or a Warning for Tobacconists" was written and answered. It was the smokers who were called "tobacconists."¹

Town Life.

Besides smoking and going to plays, a man of fashion had many other means, innocent or the reverse, of making time pass quickly. The order of the day for an idler, Sir John Harrington tells us, was chess in the morning; after dinner, cards; then, to exercise the arms, dice; to exercise the body, tennis; warmed by this, he will cool himself at the "tables," backgammon, shovel-board, or billiards; and, tired out with them, go to a play or an interlude—probably an evening performance at a private theatre.

In one of Davies' "Epigrams" an idler's life is sketched thus:—

"First, he doth rise at ten; and at eleven
He goes to 'Gyls,' where he doth eat till one;
Then sees a play till six, and sups at seven;
And after supper straight to bed is gone:
And there till next day he doth remain,
And then he dines, and sees a Comedy,
And then he sups, and goes to bed again:
Thus round he runs without variety."

"Gyls" was the restaurant or "ordinary," probably near St. Giles, Cripplegate. In choosing his "ordinary," Dekker, in his "Gull's Horn-book," written early in the next reign, recommends the gallant to seek that of the largest reckoning. A shilling dinner was a good one; the lawyer's was threepence.

At the Barber's.

Much time could be spent at the barber's—especially when long hair and love-locks came in fashion at the end of the reign. The cuts of beards were various, and the barber would ask: "Will you be trimmed to look fierce or pleasant?" Moustachios were curled up like two horns, if possible, to reach the forehead, the countenance was washed with sweetballs, and then—to Stubbes' regret—the barber refused to say what his charge was.² In dress, no change in general character distinguishes the end of the reign from the beginning; but the changes in detail were unceasing.

Sports and games were not in vogue among Londoners as they were in the country; bowling, gambling, and dicing

¹ Fairholt, "Tobacco: Its History and Associations." ² Stubbes, Part ii, 51.

had in great measure supplanted them. Riding was the chief **Sports.** exercise, and archery was still practised in London for exercise and amusement. As all men carried daggers and every fashionable man a rapier, fencing and sword-exercise were much taught. In 1565 the Queen issued a proclamation to limit and control the "schools of fence," in which "the multitude and the common people" were being taught "to play at all kinds of weapons," and the size of the rapier and dagger was regulated.

To the end of the reign the streets were thronged with idle serving-men wearing their lord's badge, and ready to fight their lord's street-battles. A "good fellow," a "merry Greek," was always "a sinful, brawling, quarrelsome fighter."

The Regent Street of Elizabethan London was Cheapside — a fine, broad, paved street, containing, on its south side, the fine set of houses called Goldsmiths' Row. Holborn was the Elizabethan Kensington, boasting of gardens and fresh air. A "church parade" was held every day in "Paul's Walk," the nave of St. Paul's Cathedral, a sanctuary for



THE CUCKING STOOL. (*Ipswich Museum.*)

(*From a photograph by F. Woolnough, Esq.*)

debtors. Here the fashionable tailor took his order, and jotted down the measurements behind a convenient pillar. Hither men went to display their clothes; and here the well-dressed man must have a care to the slide of his cloak from the shoulder, and, if its lining were rich, must mind he clutch it behind his back as if in a great rage. Another sanctuary for fraudulent debtors was Whitefriars or Alsatia, and here the outcasts of society congregated. There were many fashionable houses in the neighbourhood of Mark or Mart Lane (Fenchurch Street)—for instance, Sir Francis Walsingham's and one of

**The
Streets.**

Essex's houses in Seething Lane. Burghley's house was in the Strand, and there also was Leicester's afterwards occupied by Essex.

Shops.

Each trade occupied its own quarter of the town, and every shop had its own signboard. The haberdashers and mercers were in the fine houses on London Bridge—the only bridge. The grocers were in Bucklersbury; the butchers, tavern-keepers, and cooks in Eastcheap (where Falstaff's inn, the Boar's Head, stood). The actors' tavern, the Mermaid, was in Cheapside. The booksellers were in St. Paul's Churchyard. A number of good shops were placed in the upper storeys of the new Royal Exchange; but those on the ground floor proved a failure, as it was too dark. Most shops, except the goldsmiths', were still without glass windows; and, accordingly, little display was possible. The noise and dirt of the London streets were much complained of; the Thames, too, was dirty, and the smell acquired by clothes which had been washed in it was notorious. Familiar sights in London streets were the conduits of water flowing at the junction of thoroughfares, the water-carriers or "cobs" with their casks of water, selling to those who preferred not to go to the conduit for it, and in certain well-known places the apparatus for the punishment of criminals adorned the streets; on Cornhill were the stocks, pillory, and cage; by Thames-side the cucking-stools for scolds; and on London Bridge, in 1598, thirty traitors' heads were still fixed on one of the towers.

Riding and rowing were the ordinary means of transit. The fashionable gentleman never walked anywhere, lest his brilliant shoes should suffer. The riverside was lined with landing-places, and, according to Harrison, 2,000 wherries were kept upon it, and 3,000 poor men maintained themselves by boating.

**The Sights
of London.**

The sights in and around London which were most attractive to visitors were the monuments of Westminster and St. Paul's, which were explained by showmen, the view of London from the top of St. Paul's damaged steeple, on payment of one penny (and here Dekker recommends his "Gull" to carve his name in the leads), and also the armour and animals in the Tower. The primitive Zoological Gardens at the Tower contained, in 1598, three lionesses, one lion, a tiger, a lynx, a wolf, a



A MARRIAGE FÊTE AT BERMONDSEY.

(By permission, from a picture by Hoc, aged in the possession of the Right Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury.)

porcupine, and an eagle, all kept in a remote place, "fitted up for the purpose with wooden lattices at the Queen's expense."¹ Hampton Court and Windsor Castle were much visited. Those who cared for music went to evening prayer at St. Paul's, where a delightful organ was played and accompanied with other instruments. English choral singing was famous.

Music.

In the chapel of Windsor Castle the Duke of Würtemberg listened "for more than an hour to the beautiful music, the usual ceremonies, and the English sermon. The music, especially the organ, was exquisitely played, for at times you could hear the sound of cornets, flutes, then fifes and other instruments; and there was likewise a little boy who sang so sweetly amongst it all, and threw such a charm over the music with his little tongue, that it was really wonderful to listen to him." Fiddling in taverns, bands in theatres, and ballad-singing in the streets, provided music for the poor. The ballad-singer's auditory, "which hath at Temple Bar his standing chose, and to the vulgar sings an alehouse story," is described at length by Sir John Davies:

"First stands a porter, then an oyster-wife
Doth stint her cry and stays her steps to hear him;
Then comes a cut-purse, ready with a knife"

to detach the tempting hanging-pocket everybody wore; and by him stands the constable, never thinking of the arrest he should be making. The English were reported by Hentzner in 1598 to be "vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, and the ringing of bells; so that in London it is common for a number of them, that have got a glass in their heads, to go into some belfry and ring the bells for hours together for the sake of exercise." At the tavern-suppers of the wealthy the favourite music was that of the cornet and sackbut.

Hospitality.

The great duties of country women were good housewifery and hospitality, but in London hospitality was neglected. Men of all ranks dined at the ordinary and supped at the tavern, and in London, "where every man is for himself and no man for all,"² Harrison complains that men excuse their niggardliness on the ground of little room. "In reward of a

¹ Rye, p. 207.

² Crowley, "Select Works," p. 11.

fat capon, or plenty of beef and mutton largely bestowed upon them in the country," in London "a cup of wine or beer, with a napkin to wipe the lips, and an 'You are heartily welcome,' are thought to be a great entertainment." The



AN ELIZABETHAN BEDSTEAD.

(The Victoria and Albert Museum.)

marketing was left freely in the hands of the married women. Of them a Dutchman writes:

"They are well dressed, fond of taking it easy, and commonly leave the care of household matters and drudgery to their servants. They sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen of the passer-by. In all banquets and feasts they are shown the greatest honour. They employ their time in walking and riding, in playing at cards, visiting their friends, making merry with them at child-births, christenings,

churchings, and funerals; and all this with the permission and knowledge of their husbands, as such is the custom. This is why England is called the paradise of married women. The girls who are not yet married are kept much more rigorously and strictly than in the Low Countries" (Rye, p. 12).

England was called the purgatory of servants and the hell of horses, because servants were treated with arrogance and horses were hard-worked. The paradise of married women was, perhaps, not entirely free from the note of monotony, and to vary the employments paradise provided, card-playing was much in vogue. Harrington¹ argues that men and women should be allowed to play cards, since men cannot be always conversing nor women always "pricking in clouts." The Queen had in her own life set an example of diligent application to study, which at the beginning of her reign was followed, but in 1587 Harrison distinguishes the "ancient" ladies of the Court "who shun idleness, who work or read the Scriptures, our own or foreign histories, write volumes of their own, or make translations into English or Latin," from the young "who apply their time to lutes, citherns, pricksong, and all kind of music for recreation's sake."

According to Stubbes, young unmarried women loved "to show coyness in gestures, mincedness in words and speeches, gingerliness in tripping on toes like young goats, demure nicety and babyishness," when they went out with their silk scarves "cast about their faces fluttering in the wind, or riding in their velvet visors, with two holes cut for the eyes."² Much immorality resulted from the child-marriages common in fashionable life. The use of masks in public places, which became general at the close of the reign, did not tend to improve the moral tone of the upper classes.

The element of sham in Elizabethan society was large, but perhaps it was little more than superficial. Like the Queen's false hair and painted face, and like her lies and equivocations, they were shams that deluded no one. Harrington, the Queen's favourite godson, thus lashes the weaknesses of himself and his fellows—"We go brave in apparel that we may be taken for better men than we be, we use much bombastings and quiltings to seem better framed, better shouldered, smaller waisted, and fuller thighed than we are, we barb and shave oft

¹ "Nugae Antiquae," I., p. 200.

² Cf. *Hamlet*, Act III., Sc. 1.

to seem younger than we are, we use perfumes both inward and outward to seem sweeter, wear corked shoes to seem taller, use courteous salutations to seem kinder, lowly obeisance to seem humbler, and grave and godly communication to seem wiser and devouter than we be."¹

It was a worldly age, an age that was, before all, practical—



GOSSIPING AT THE MARKET.

(From a woodcut of 1603.)

practical and worldly even in its views of religion. "I care not what you talk to me of God, so as I may have the prince and the laws of the realm on my side," said an Englishman who had lately returned from Italy. Perhaps his view was exceptional, for the proverb runs—"An Englishman Italianate is a devil incarnate." Though crowds went to hear sermons

¹ "Nugae Antiquae," I., p. 209.

because to do so was fashionable, there were some who lamented that godlessness also was the fashion. There was plenty of spiritual allusion in conversation, even in Parliamentary debate, but on the whole, Elizabethan spirituality confined itself to words. It remained for the Puritan revolution to sweep away the outward signs of worldliness, the bombastings, quiltings, perfumes, and corked shoes, and to do what was possible to bring genuine religious feeling home to the heart of man.

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GENERAL HISTORY.

The principal authorities are the same as those given in Chap. XI., with the substitution for the Calendar of MSS. at Hatfield House of Motley's *History of the United Netherlands*. For Queen Elizabeth's last years, and most of the period between the end of Froude's *History* and the beginning of Gardiner's, see M. A. Sharp Hume, *Treason and Plot*, 1901. On the defeat of the Spanish Armada, consult the volumes issued by the Navy Records Society.

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Religion.—Besides the authorities named in the text, the editorial prolegomena of Keble to his edition of Hooker, and of Arber to his of the *Marpelate Tracts*, will be found useful. See also Perry, *History of the Church of England*; Heylin, *History of the Presbytery*; Maskell, *Martin Marprelate*. With regard, in especial, to the controversy as to Church government, the following may be added: State Papers, Domestic; Hatfield House MSS.; Prothero's *Selection of Constitutional Documents, 1559-1603*; Strype's *Memorials*, 6 vols.; do. *Annals*, 7 vols.; do. *Lives of Crammer, Parker, Whitgift*, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries (reprinted at Oxford 1812-1823); *Zürich Letters* (Parker Soc.), 4 vols.; Neal, *History of the Puritans*; Marsden, *Early Puritans*; Gilbert W. Child, *Church and State under the Tudors*.

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The Navy.—See list appended to Chap. IX.; also Corbett, *Life of Drake*; Edwards, *Life of Raleigh*; Oppenheim, *History of the Navy and Merchant Shipping*; and Laird Clowes, *History of the Royal Navy*.

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